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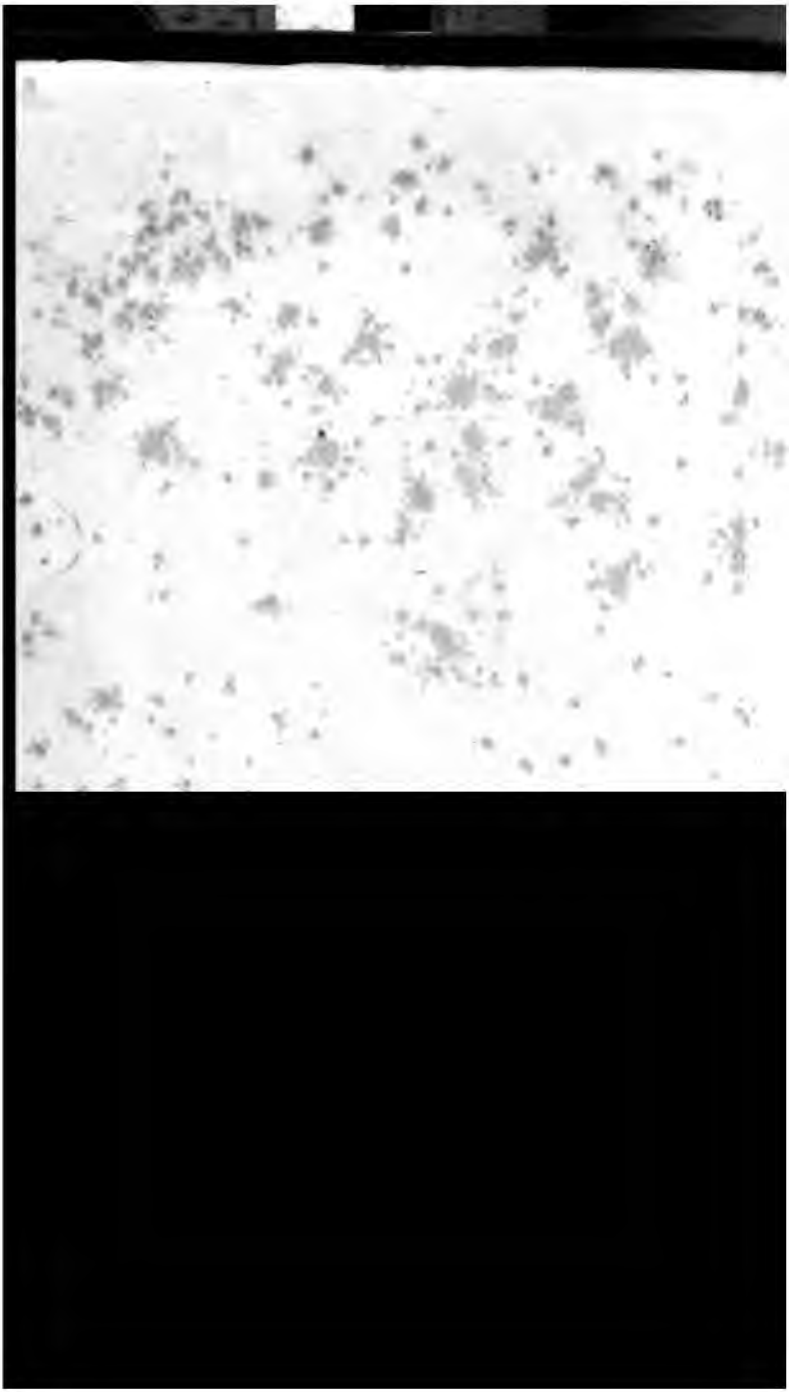
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AN EXPLANATION

OF THE

THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES.





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BY

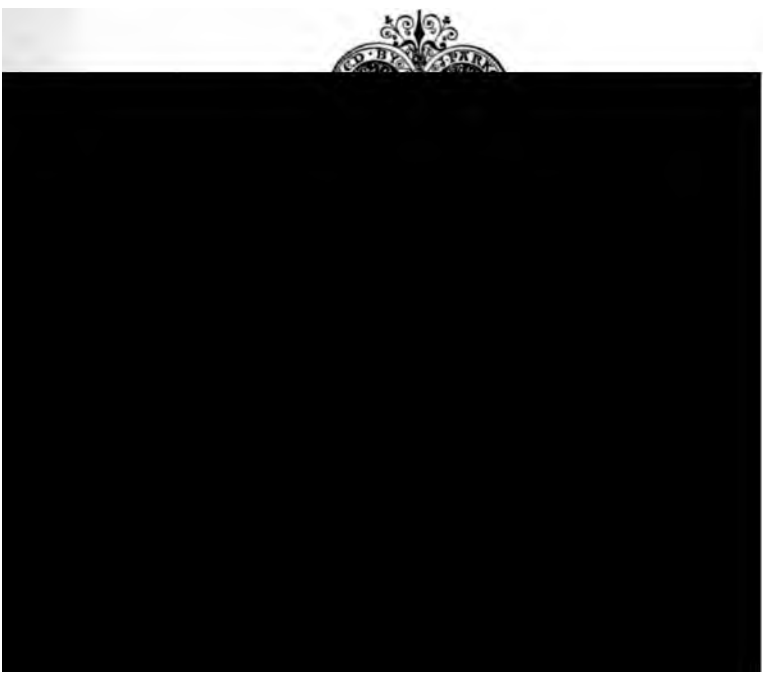
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ON THE

THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES OF RELIGION.

ARTICLE XXII.

De Purgatorio.

Doctrina Romanensium[a] *de purgatorio, de indulgentiis, de veneratione, et adoratione, tum imaginum, tum reliquiarum, necnon de invocatione sanctorum, res est futilis, inaniter conficta, et nullis Scripturarum testimoniis innititur: immo verbo Dei contradicit.*

"*Of Purgatory.*

"The Romish doctrine concerning purgatory, pardons, worshipping and adoration, as well of images as of reliques, and also invocation of saints, is a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God."

Whatever dissidence may be imagined to exist between the preceding Articles and the doctrines as promulgated by the Council of Trent, there is none with regard to the subjects mentioned in the present one; for while the points formerly touched on were ruled

[a] "The words *Romanenses* and *Romanistæ* were already used as far back as 1520 by Luther and Ulrich von Hutten to designate the *extreme* Mediæval party." Hardwick, p. 389. Just as in modern French literature, the expression *parti romaniste* is used for the more pronounced section of the Ultramontanes. Observe that the harsh word *perniciosa* of the early Articles is entirely dropped in the later version.

by the Church of England subsequently to the earlier decrees of the Council, the questions of Purgatory and Pardons were not discussed for many months after the publication of the Article. The Article, therefore, cannot be strained into a condemnation and contradiction of that which did not exist at the time; and we must come to the conviction that it was not the formulized doctrine, but a current and corrupt practice in the Latin or Western Church, which is here declared to be "fond" and "vainly invented."

This distinction is a very important one. People are apt to ignore the real reformation which took place within the Latin Church, the wise and scientific treatment to which many points were subjected, and the

romeo, Archbishop of Milan, St. Thomas of Villanueva, Archbishop of Valencia, Rusticucci, Salviati, Sartorio, Gaspar Contarini, Fra Bernardino Ochino da Siena, Bonomo, Bishop of Vercelli, Paul of Arezzo, Bishop of Piacenza, Ypolito Galantino, the silk-worker of Florence, S. Filippo Neri, and a host of others, who carried on the work, exhibit in their own persons the results that were effected.

The points against which this Article is directed may be discerned in any of the satires which immediately preceded the Reformation, such as the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, the history of Dill Eulenspiegel, or the Colloquies of Erasmus. These exhibit the picture of a great decay of practical religion, corruption and avarice reigning among the clergy, nothing done to stem the flood of immorality, and, beside this, a round of ceremonies and puerile superstitions. Nothing is so remarkable as the way in which holy names and holy mysteries are placed by Chaucer in the mouths of those who are perpetrating the foulest deeds. It would seem as if morality and religion had got so divorced that there seemed no incongruity in their association. Erasmus' account of his visit with Colet to Canterbury, and, again, his description of the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham well repay perusal, and are specially important in considering the Article, as they exhibit the prevalent habit of thought of the time, the every-day devotional life of the people, as seen by the eyes of one of the most intelligent of men.

Indeed, the one refreshing aspect of the English

Reformation is that which exhibits to us the way in which the scandals that brought it on were dealt with, how the objects of superstition were cast to the winds, and the gainful frauds exposed and scorned. Even in the reign of Henry VIII. the semi-heathen image of Darvel Gatheren, which had in Wales promoted a horrid cultus, such as is said to have existed till the seventeenth century among the cognate race of the Bretons, was destroyed [c]. The miraculous rood of Boxley, which was said to move its eyes and lips, and to sweat blood, was broken up among the jeers of the people [d]; and through the length and breadth of the land, the instruments of fanaticism were cast into the fire or the water. Even the bones of the saints,

misery is, that you can hardly prune away the one without promoting the other. Tear the ivy off the mouldering church wall, and you will bring away part of the wall with it. So it was at the Reformation. It was impossible to reform and not to deform; and, as a fact, much that had been once good, and in time abused, was for the time lost. Solemn rites that had lost their significance, or been veiled in an unknown tongue, were cast aside as useless; edifying ceremonies, such as the washing of poor men's feet, nay, the unction for the sick, which had the support of the Inspired Word itself, were ignored; doctrines, such as the Communion of Saints, the witness of God to innocence in the case of ordeal, the horrible watchful skill and constant infestation of evil spirits, dropped out of sight, and a one-sided view of God's truth was advocated and enforced. This was specially the case with regard to the subject of the Article. "The Romish doctrine," in the earlier type of the Article termed "the scholastic doctrine," was hereby condemned. It only was condemned, but somehow people seemed to forget that besides the Romish doctrine on these subjects, there was a Catholic doctrine also; that the errors lay rather in the exaggeration and want of proportion of the statements, than in the substance, and that as formerly there had been danger from excess, there now was danger in defect, in the way of suppressing important truths of the Gospel.

For on every one of the points mentioned there is an underlying Christian truth, and it is necessary to

the right understanding of the Article to know what this is. We cannot tell what the Article means till we know what it condemns; and we cannot know what it condemns till we know the doctrine, the perversion of which drew forth the condemnation.

But before proceeding to this, historic truth and candour demand that we should say that the protest in the Article is still needed. One does not here speak of those ancient mountain-shrines in the Tyrol or in Switzerland, where the simple, loving herdsman toils his weary way over brake and fell, encountering danger and real hardship, till he falls down before the Marien-bild, or other object of veneration, to which his steps have been directed. God forbid that we should

reverence; and Loretto still draws her gains from the credulity of the faithful. Nay, even in France, where the battle of the faith is being fought by an able body of clergy, whose tone in some respects presents a very marked contrast to that of the moderate and learned school of divines who adorned the Church of France before the first Revolution, it is to be feared that, as in the notorious instance of the shrine of La Salette, too many are using the weapon of superstition to combat the growing irreligion.

I. The doctrine of Purgatory, against which the Article excepts, is that which is made patent to the eye of every traveller as he passes from Germany into Italy. The wayside shrines which so edify him still continue, but the subjects are changed. In place of the affecting representation of the sufferings of the Eternal Son, and the touching impersonations of the Lord crowned with thorns, with the purple robe and the reed in His hand, which speak to the soul of the wayfarer, terrible representations of the holy souls in flames appal him. They are the predominant, although not the exclusive subject. Sometimes the Madonna is placed in relation to those souls, but oftener still they are by themselves, appealing for a few pence to the awakened sympathies of the passers by. They say, "Have mercy upon me, have mercy upon me, oh my friends; for the hand of the Lord hath touched me." The popular

Il Sign. Marchese Cesare Sinibaldi Gambalunga, Barone e Signore della detta terra. Roma, 1862, presso Vincenzo Poggioli. Con approvazione.

doctrine thus symbolized prevailed in England at the time of the Reformation. Probably, as is believed to be the case in New Spain, it had come to take the place of a living faith in the eternal pains of hell in the case of most men. It was also mixed up largely with interested motives on the part of the clergy. There was a perfect traffic in masses for the souls, and men fancied that by leaving money to the Church at the hour of death, and at the expense of their heirs, they might purchase mitigation or exemption from pains, which in degree, though not in duration, were said to equal the pains of hell. The English were very strongly affected by these teachings, for several of the most striking and romantic legends, e.g. the dream of St. Fursæus and the vision of Drithelm, as recorded in Bede's History [illegible]

of the day is laid down in Sir Thomas More's "Supplication of Souls," a work in which he answered the "Supplication of Beggars," a political brochure, which pleaded for the suppression of the chantries, on the ground that so much was taken from the poor. The chantries were in due time suppressed, but it may be doubted whether the poor profited much by the transaction.

"If ye pity the poor, there is none so poor as we, that have not a bratte to put upon our backs. If ye pity the blind, there is none so blind as we, which are here in the dark, saving for sights unpleasant and lothsome, till some comfort come. If ye pity the lame, there is none so lame as we, that can neither creep one foot out of the fire, nor have one hand at liberty to defend our face from the flame. Finally, if ye pity any man in pain, never knew ye pain comparable to ours; whose fire as far passeth in heat all the fires that ever burned on earth, as the hottest of all that passed a feigned fire painted on a wall. If ever ye lay sick, or thought the night long and longed for day, while every hour seemed longer than five, bethink you then what a long night we sely souls endure, that lie slepeless, restless, burning and broiling in the dark fire one long night of many days, of many weeks, of many years together. You walter, peradventure, and tolter in sickness from side to side, and find little rest in any part of the bed; we lie bound to the brands, and cannot lift up our heads. You have your physicians with you, that sometimes cure and heal you; no physic will help

our pain, nor no plaisters coole our heat. Your keepers do you great ease, and put you in good comfort; our keepers are such as God keep you from—cruel, doomed spirites, odious, envious, and hateful, despiteous enemies and dispiteful tormentors, and their company more terrible and grievous to us than is the pain itself; and the intolerable torment that they do us, wherewith from top to toe they cease not continually to tear us[g]."

It was strongly felt at the Reformation-period that the doctrine of Purgatory had been so taught as to invalidate the power of the Passion of Christ. With the usual confusion of the objective and subjective of those times, on the one hand it was coarsely taught that so much suffering would do its work, independent of the merit of Christ, in the way of cleansing so much sin; on the other hand, according to the new learning, it was supposed that our Lord's death took away the temporal as well as the eternal punishment for sin, a mistake, as every day's experience teaches us; for the application of Christ's Blood by the deepest repentance will not restore the lost health to the profligate, nor the squandered wealth to the spendthrift. Moreover, a divorce in thought had practically taken place between the Sacrifice of Christ and the applicative and commemorating Sacrifice, so that the souls were thought to be succoured by masses, to the exclusion of the thought of that adorable Passion which was pleaded in and by those masses.

[g] More's "Supplication of Souls," Works, p. 337, Cawood, London, ed. 1557.

Now the true doctrine, of which the opinion condemned in this Article is an exaggeration and excess, is founded on the tenderest and deepest sympathies of our common human nature. Mankind will not endure the thought that at the moment of death all concern for those loved ones who are riven from us by death comes to an end. We firmly resist the heathen notion, which the inverted torch and the broken column symbolize, that henceforward they are nothing to us, or we to them; nay, we go so far as to say, that though the tree must lie as it falls, and though death puts an end to each man's probation, so far as he is concerned, yet that Infinite love pursues the soul beyond the grave, and there has dealings with it, in which we who survive have still our co-operation. To pray for the departed is a deep instinct of natural piety, but it is much more than that, it is one of the best-attested doctrines of the primitive Church. The Jews at the time of our Saviour, as they do to-day, prayed for the dead, and there is not a word proceeding from the lips of our Lord which can be tortured into a condemnation of it. There is little doubt that St. Paul prayed for Onesiphorus when dead: for the Greek phrase for "his household" implies his absence; and he prays for no grace for this life, but only, "The Lord grant unto him, that he may find mercy of the Lord in that day [h]." The early Liturgies of the Church, which, traced back to the Apostolic times, bear witness to the public teaching of the most remote antiquity, are unanimous in this

[h] 2 Tim. i. 18.

respect. That of Jerusalem prays:—"Remember, O Lord God, the spirits and all flesh, those of right faith whom we have mentioned and whom we have not mentioned, from Abel the Just to this day. Do Thou Thyself give them rest [or refresh them] in the region of the living, in Thy kingdom, in the delights of Paradise, in the bosoms of our holy Fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, whence sorrow, grief, and lamentation are banished away, where the light of God's countenance visits and shines continually[1]." That of Alexandria prays:—"Rest [or refresh] the souls of our fathers and brethren who have fallen asleep before us in the faith of Christ, remembering the forefathers, fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, bishops,

light of Thy countenance visits." The Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, now "in use through the four Patriarchates and Russia, except on the few days on which St. Basil's Liturgy is said," has no special form for those mentioned in the diptychs of the departed. That of St. Basil provides a prayer "For the rest and forgiveness of the soul of Thy servant *N.* In a lightsome place, where grief and lamentation are fled away, rest [or refresh] him."

In the Roman Liturgy, the prayers are more varied. In the Canon of the Mass is a prayer "upon the diptychs" (occurring in a different place, in the Sacramentary of St. Gregory):—"Remember also, O Lord, Thy servants and handmaidens (*N.* and *N.*) who have gone before us with the seal of faith, and sleep in the sleep of peace. To them, O Lord, and to all who are at rest in Christ, we intreat Thee to grant a place of refreshment, of light and peace[k]." Other prayers, after the pattern of St. Paul's for Onesiphorus, were for a merciful judgment[l]; that God would "save the souls of the departed from hell," "from the judgment of vengeance," "from the mouth of the lion," from "the hands of the enemy;" that they endure not "everlasting punishments," "the fire of Gehenna and the flame of hell[m]." Or, again, that they may "have part in the

[k] Opp., iii. p. 4. Ben. Comp. p. 289, n. 70.

[l] Gelas. Sacram. *Orat.*, n. 91, *post Sepulturam*, p. 751, Murat.:—"That before the throne of the glory of Thy Christ, severed with those on the right, we may have nothing in common with those on the left." (S. Greg., t. v. p. 233.)

[m] "From the gates of hell deliver their souls, O Lord." (Breviary.)

first resurrection [n]," or "have a blessed resurrec-

"Absolve, O Lord, the souls of all the faithful departed from all bond of sin, and, Thy grace succouring them, let them attain [*mereantur*] to escape the judgment of vengeance, and enjoy the bliss of eternal light." (*Missæ pro Def. Tractus.*) "O Lord Jesus Christ, King of Glory, deliver the souls of all the faithful departed from the punishment of hell, and from the lake profound; deliver them from the mouth of the lion, lest hell (*tartarus*) swallow them up, lest they fall into darkness; but let St. Michael, the Captain, present them to that holy light, which Thou hast promised to Abraham and his seed." (*Offert.*) "Deliver it [the soul of one buried] not into the hands of the enemy, nor forget him for ever; but command him to be received by the holy angels, and to be brought to the house of Paradise; that, since he hoped and believed in Thee, he may not endure the punishment of hell [*inferni*] or everlasting punishments," [it used to be *pœnas eternas* in old Missals, as *Missale Rom.*, Paris, 1521, Ussher,] "but may possess everlasting joys;" [ib., "on the day of death or of burial"], "that it may escape the place of punishment and the fire of Gehenna, and the flame of hell, in the

tion°," "or that they may obtain eternal felicity in the congregation of the saints;" "may be enrolled in

Opp., t. v. p. 228, Paris; *Missale Goth.*, p. 394, ed. Thomas. Mur. "That, severed from the horror of hell [*horrore tartareo*], placed in Abraham's bosom, the Almighty would vouchsafe to resuscitate them in the first resurrection, which He shall effect." Tertullian, in reasoning against second marriages, asks how she is to pray for the two husbands, the old and the new; and states the boon demanded for the dead one, "refreshment and a share in the first resurrection." (*De Monog.*, x.)

° "May he rise again among those who rise, and among those who receive their bodies in the day of resurrection may he receive his body, and with the blessed who come at the right hand of God the Father may he come, and among those who possess eternal life may he possess it." (*Sacr. Gelas.*, l. c., p. 749.) "Let us deprecate the mercy of Almighty God for the spirit of our dear *N.*, whose burial is celebrated to-day, that He would receive him in eternal rest, and restore him by a blessed resurrection." (Ibid.) "Let his soul receive no injury, but when that great day of resurrection and reward cometh, vouchsafe, Lord, to raise him with Thy saints and Thine elect; forgive him transgressions and sins 'to the last farthing,' and let him obtain a life of immortality and an eternal kingdom with Thee." (Ibid., 750.) "Eternal God, Who hast given us in Christ, Thy Only-begotten, our Lord, the hope of a blessed resurrection; grant that the souls of Thy servants, for whom we offer to Thy Majesty this sacrifice of our redemption, may be found meet, through Thy mercy, to attain with Thy saints to the rest of a blessed resurrection." (*Præf. Ant. in Pamel. Lit.*, ii. 609.) "That Thou wouldest command the soul of Thy servant *N.* to be carried by the hands of Thy holy angels to the bosom of the Patriarch Abraham Thy friend, to be raised up in the last day of the great judgment." (*Sacram. Greg.*, n. 104, p. 214, Murat.) "And may be found meet to be raised among the saints and elect in the glory of the resurrection." (Ibid., and in another prayer, at the grave before interment, p. 215.) "Let us pray that the pity of the Lord would vouchsafe to place him in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; that when the day of judgment shall come, He may cause him to be raised, and be placed among His saints and elect," after interment." (Ibid.) The Jacobite Liturgy prays for the person's resurrection (Ren. ii. 167), "Raise them, O Lord, in that last Day, and be Thy face calm towards them: and forgive for Thy mercy's sake their sins and failings."

the number of the saints who pleased God." There are prayers also for the recently baptised [p], and for eternal remission to those who desired penance, but were cut off by death [q]. There were also the well-known prayers for St. Leo I. and St. Gregory I. specifically [r].

Perhaps it may not be an improbable conjecture, that the Church at first prayed for all the departed in one tenour [s], without discriminating, leaving it to God

[p] Sacram. Gelas., n. 96, p. 755, ed. Mur.

[q] Ibid., n. 98, p. 756.

[r] "Grant to us, Lord, that this oblation, by immolating which Thou didst grant that the offences of the whole world should be pardoned, may profit the soul of Thy servant Leo, through," &c., (*Sacram. Gregor.*, p. 101, ed. Murat.); and substituting the name Gregory (ibid. p. 25)

to hear her in whatever way He knew for each; and so, that the prayers for deliverance from hell,

to the deacons, and to the whole clergy of Thy Holy Church, and to all the laity, both men and women, who have ended (their life) in the faith," (said privately, then aloud,) "with whom we beseech Thee to visit us also." Then "of the Holy Virgin Mary, Mother of God, and of John Baptist, and of Stephen the first martyr, and of all the saints let there be remembrance in this holy oblation, we beseech Thee." Then, after full intercessions for the living, special mention of certain departed:—"Remember, O Lord, also the spirit of Thy servant *N. N.*, and have mercy on him according to Thy great mercy, and on (the day of Thy) visitation give him rest in the light of Thy countenance," (but if he be living, "save him from all snares of the soul and body"). "Remember, O Lord, also those who have recommended themselves to a mention of them in their prayers, both them that are in life, and them that rest in death; direct the intention [or "will"] of their requests unto Thee, and of our own to that which is right and that tends to salvation," &c. (Armenian Liturgy [Gregorian], translated by the Rev. C. Malan.) In the Jacobite Liturgy of the twelve apostles, the one prayer comprises all classes:—"Remember, O Lord, those also who pleased Thee from the beginning, especially the holy glorious Mother of God, Mary, John Baptist, &c. Remember also, Lord, all the faithful departed who have died of old and come to Thee. Receive these oblations which are offered for them to Thee this day, and make them rest in the blessed bosom of Abraham. With hope of Thy mercy, all the departed have received rest, and expect compassions of Thee, our adorable God. Grant that they may be found meet to hear that life-giving word, which shall call them and bring them, that they be invited to Thy kingdom." (Renaudot, ii. 173.) Alcuin has the like prayer in the offices which he framed, chiefly (it is related, *Monit. Præv. Alcuini*, Opp., t. ii. pt. i. p. 3, ed. Frob.) from the Sacramentaries of St. Gelasius and St. Gregory:—"We humbly pray Thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty Everlasting God, for the spirits of Thy servants and handmaidens, whom, *from the beginning of this world*, Thou hast commanded to be brought to Thyself, that Thou wouldest vouchsafe to give them a lightsome place, a place of refreshment and quiet; that it be allowed them to pass the gates of hell and the ways of darkness, and they may remain in the mansion of the saints and in the holy light which Thou

related to souls on whom the particular judgment was not yet passed[t]; those for the saints were "for increase of their glory," as was expressed in words in a Gothic Missal, before the close of the eighth century[u]; on which also Innocent III., at the beginning of the thirteenth, says, that "very many thought not

promisedst of old to Abraham and his seed. Let their souls receive no injury, but when that great day of resurrection and retribution shall come, Thou vouchsafe to raise them, O Lord, together with Thy saints and Thine elect, and efface their transgressions and sins 'to the uttermost farthing,' that they may obtain immortal life and an eternal kingdom with Thee." (Ibid., p. 82.) That of Dioscorus in like way prays God:—"Remember all who, from Adam until now, have had a conversation well-pleasing to Thee, who have departed unto Thee; especially those who have excellently ministered and served before Thee, *faithful* priests and deacons, who have purified their own souls and those of

unworthy [x]." The more common explanation was that they were thanksgivings [y], which suits the forms in which they were commemorated, yet does not fit in naturally with those in which they were prayed for. St. Epiphanius explains that these prayers were intended to mark the difference between the highest saints and God [z]. St. Cyril of Jerusalem, in explaining the Liturgy, apparently arranges the departed mentioned in it into three classes; 1. those who are commemorated and not prayed for—"patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, that at their prayers and intercessions God would receive our petition;" 2. the holy dead prayed for—"then also in behalf of (ὑπὲρ)

[x] "What is contained in a great many [*plerisque*], viz. 'let such an oblation profit [*prosit vel proficiat*], this or that saint to glory and honour,' ought to be understood, that it should profit to this end, that he should be more and more glorified on earth, or be honoured; although a great many [*plerique*] do not think it unworthy that the glory of the saint be augmented up to the judgment, and that therefore, meanwhile, the Church may wish for an increase of their glorifying." (*Innocent III. Archiep. Lugdun. in Decretal. Greg. IX.* l. iii. tit. 41, vel de celebr. Miss. c. 6. *Quum Marthæ*, p. 614, ed. Ritter.)

[y] *S. Aug. Enchirid.*, c. 109, in his Short Treatises, p. 151, Oxf. Tr., quoted by Innocent III., l. c.

[z] "The prayer for them [the departed] helpeth, although it cuts not off everything of accusation. We make mention of the just and for sinners. For the sinners, we entreat for the mercy of God. For the just, and fathers, and patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, and evangelists, and martyrs, and confessors, and bishops, and anchorites, and the whole Order, that we may separate the Lord Jesus Christ from the order of men through the honours to Him, and may render Him reverence; mindful that the Lord is not on a level with any among men, though any man be ten thousand fold or yet more in righteousness." (*Hær.* 75, n. 7, Opp. i. 911.)

the holy fathers and bishops;" and 3. of all universally who have fallen asleep among us, believing that it will be a very great advantage to the souls, in behalf of (ὑπὲρ) whom the supplication is put up while the "holy and most awful sacrifice lieth there."

St. Cyril thus meets the difficulty, which was in the mouths of "many," "What is a soul benefited, which departed out of this world with sins or without sins, if it be remembered at the prayer?" He answers the question as to "sinners" by an illustration:—"Now, surely if a king had banished certain who had offended him, and their relations, having woven a crown, should offer it to him on behalf of those under his vengeance, would he not grant relaxation of the punishments?

statements, which assume that there are but two abodes in the intermediate state, the one for the saved, the other for the lost; and that the abode of the saved is one of rest and refreshment[b]. They anticipate for

[b] "I affirm that souls never perish, for this would be a godsend to the wicked. What, then, befalls them? The souls of the good are consigned to a better place, and those of the unjust and evil to a worse, there to await the Day of Judgment." (St. Justin M., *Dial. c. Tryph.*, §. 5, p. 78, Oxf. Tr.)

"We will answer [Marcion], this very Scripture too [of Dives and Lazarus], which separates Abraham's bosom for the poor man from the *inferi*, refuting him. For the *inferi* are one place, I deem; Abraham's bosom, another. For he says that a great gulf intervenes between those regions, and forbids a passage on either side. Nor would the rich man have lifted up his eyes, and that from afar, unless unto an upper region. Whence it is clear to any wise man—that there is a certain bounded space called Abraham's bosom, for the reception of the souls of his sons—which shall yield meanwhile refreshment to the souls of the just, until the consummation of all things shall complete the fulness of reward at the resurrection of all; a temporary reception of the souls of the faithful, where an image of the future shall be delineated, and there be an anticipation of either judgment [of eternal death and salvation]." (Tert., *adv. Marc.* iv. 34.)

"Are all souls, then, in the *inferi*? sayest thou. Will you, nill you, thou hast there already both punishments and refreshments; the poor and the rich. For why shouldest thou not think that the soul is both punished and cherished in the *inferi*, under the expectation of either judgment, in a sort of anticipation of it?" (*De anima*, n. 58.)

"Passing which gate [of Hades], those who are brought down by the angels set over souls, go not by one way; but the just, light-led to the right, and hymned by the angels presiding in their place, are led to a lightsome spot, where dwell the just from the beginning, not constrained by necessity, but ever enjoying the gaze of the things which they behold, and gladdened with the expectation of the things ever new, and thinking them better than these; to whom their abode brings no troubles; no burning heat, no frost are there; but the sight of the righteous fathers which they see ever smiles upon them,

the departed the same comfort and peace which people commonly do now; they console under sorrow for losses

while, after this spot, they await the rest and new eternal life in heaven. It is called Abraham's bosom.—But the unjust are dragged by avenging angels to the left" ("to the confines of hell"). (S. Hippol., *adv. Græc. et Plat.* n. 1, Gall. ii. 451, 452.)

"As those, who departing from this world according to the common death, are disposed of according to their acts and merits as they shall have been judged worthy; some into the place called *Infernus*, some into Abraham's bosom, and in different places or mansions." (Origen, *de Princ.* iv. 23 (as revised by Rufinus), Opp. i. 185.)

"For neither are the places which lie below the earth themselves void of ordered and arranged powers. For there is a place where the souls of the godly and ungodly are led, feeling the foretastes of the judgment to come." (Novatian, *de Trin.*, c. i.)

"The vengeance of hell overtakes us at once, and, immediately we depart from the body, if we have so lived, 'we perish from the right way.' The rich and poor man in the Gospel shew us this:

with the same topics, not only that those departed rest from their labours, and have no more strife with sin, but that they are in peace[c]; they speak absolutely of

whereby the soul is departed from the body; *Infernus*, a place in which souls are laid up either in refreshment or in pains, according to the quality of their deserts." (S. Jerome, *in Os.* xiii. 14, t. vi. p. 152, Vall.)

"After the departure from the body, forthwith there takes place the distinction of the just and unjust. For they are led by the angels to the places meet for them; the souls of the just to Paradise, where is the converse and sight of angels and archangels, and of the Saviour Christ in vision, as is written, 'being absent from the body and present with the Lord.' But the souls of the unjust to the place of Hades," &c. (*Qu. et resp. ad Orthod.*, p. 75; in St. Justin M., App. p. 470.)

"We learn from the Scriptures that the souls of sinners are in Hades, below all earth and sea, as the Psalm (lxxxvii. [lxxxviii.] 7) says, and as is written in Job (x. 22). But the souls of the just, after the coming of Christ (as we learn from the robber on the cross) are in Paradise. For Christ our God did not open Paradise for the soul of the holy robber alone, but for all the souls of the holy thereafter." (*Quæstt. ad Antioch.*, q. 19, in St. Athanasius, Opp. ii. 272.)

The author of the *Carmen de judicio Domini* in Tertullian, pp. 808, 809, knew but of the two abodes. So Prudentius, Cathem. x. 151—162, *de exeq. def.*

[c] "We injure Christ, when, as each is called away by Him, we bear it impatiently, as though they were to be pitied. 'I have a desire,' saith the Apostle, 'to be taken and to be with Christ.' But how much better doth he shew the desire of the Christians to be! Wherefore, if we impatiently mourn for others who have obtained this desire, we are unwilling to obtain it ourselves." (*Tertullian de Pat.*, n. 9, p. 340, O. T.) "It is for *him* to fear death, who willeth not to go to Christ: it is for *him* to will not to go to Christ, who believeth not that he beginneth to reign with Christ. For it is written, 'the just liveth by faith.' If thou art just and livest by faith, if thou truly believest in God, why, since thou art to be with Christ and art secure of the Lord's promise, dost thou not embrace thy being called by Christ, and congratulate thee that thou art rid of Satan? Simeon, rejoicing in the nearness now of death, said, 'Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace;' proving and

attesting that then have the servants of God peace, then free, then quiet rest, when, withdrawn from these storms of the world, we gain the haven of our everlasting rest and security." (*S. Cyprian de Mortal.*, n. 2.) "The righteous are called to a place of refreshment, the wicked are hurried to punishment" [by the pestilence]; "the multitude of those who are already believers is called to peace." (Ibid., n. 10.) "We should not regret nor deplore them, nor go into mourning for those who have already put on white raiment." (Ibid., 15.) "Embrace we the day which assigns each to his own domicile; which restores us, rescued hence and freed from the chains of the world, to paradise and the kingdom of heaven." (Ibid., n. 20.) "The good man shall go, rejoicing, to his everlasting house, but the wicked shall fill all with lamentations." *Greg. Neocæs. Metaphr. in Eccl.*, xii. 6. p. 95, Paris, 1622.) St. Macarius of Egypt even contemplates the perfecting of the imperfect in a moment by God. "Qu. But if a man, engaged in war, and having two sides in his soul, of sin and of grace, is removed from this world, whither goeth he, being held back on the two sides? Ans. Where his mind hath its aim, where he loveth, there he goeth. Only if affliction and war assail thee, thou oughtest to contradict and hate; for, that the war cometh is not

kingdom, placed meanwhile in Abraham's bosom (whither the interposed gulf hinders the ungodly from approaching) until the time come of entering the kingdom of heaven. The Lord then 'shall guard their going out,' when, going out from the body, they rest, severed from the ungodly by the interposed gulf. The Lord shall 'guard their coming in,' bringing them into that eternal and blessed kingdom." (In Ps. cxx. fin., p. 383, Ben.) "The joy of each just one, as of Lazarus resting in Abraham's bosom, is shewn. For the joy of the just is when he seeth the vengeance (Ps. lvii. 11); because, when sinners are to be punished, he rejoices that he is carried by angels into eternal rest." (Ibid., in Ps. lvii. n. 6, p. 125, Ben.) "Let innocent religion have this confidence, that, if it be put to death unjustly, the soul, going forth from the habitation of the body, rests in the guardianship of God." (Ibid., in Ps. liii. n. 10.) The ancient author of the *de Virginitate* in St. Athanasius:—"If thou walkest in the world, thou walkest in death and out of God, according to the Divine Scripture; but if thou walk in righteousness, thou walkest in life, and death shall not hurt thee. With the just it is not death but translation. For they are translated from this world to the everlasting rest, and as one goeth out of prison, so do the saints go forth from this toilsome life to the good things prepared for them." (n. 8, in St. Ath., Opp. ii. 120, 121.) St. Ambrose:—"Death is in every way a good; because it puts away those principles in us which war against each other, and because it is *a sort of harbour for those* who, after tossing on the wide sea of this life, *seek for an anchorage of secure peace.*" (*De Bono Mortis*, 4.) "Unwise persons fear death as the greatest of ills; but the wise desire it, *as if a rest after toil and the end of ills.*" (Ibid., 8.) "Relying on these considerations, let us betake ourselves courageously to our Redeemer Jesus, courageously to the Council of Patriarchs, to our father Abraham, when our day shall arrive; courageously to that holy assembly and congregation of the just. We shall go to our fathers, to our preceptors in the faith; so that, though our works fail us, our faith may succour us, our birthright plead for us. We shall go where holy Abraham opens his arms to receive the poor, as he received Lazarus; where they rest who in this life endured heavy and sharp inflictions.... We shall go to those who sit down in the kingdom of God with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, because when asked to supper they did not excuse themselves. We shall go thither, where there is a paradise of delight, where Adam, who fell among thieves, has forgotten to lament his wounds, where, too, the thief himself rejoices in the fellowship of the kingdom of heaven; *where are no*

clouds, where no thunder, no lightning, no storm of wind, no darkness, no evening, no summer, no winter, will vary the seasons. There will be no cold, hail, rain, nor the presence of the sun, moon, or stars; but the brightness of light will alone shine forth." (Ibid., 12.) St. Chrysostom:—"Think, to whom he is gone, and receive comfort; where Paul is, where Peter, where the whole choir of saints." (*In Illud de Dormientibus nolo*, Hom. 5, n. 3, t. i. p. 766.) "Nor then [when Joseph made the mourning Gen. l. 9—11] were the gates of hell broken, or the bands of death loosed, nor was death called a sleep. Wherefore, when they feared death, they did this; but now, for the grace of God, since death has become sleep, and the end rest, and there is much assurance of the resurrection, we exult and are glad, as removed from life to life. Why say I, 'from life to life?' From the worse to the better, from the temporal to the eternal, from the earthly to the heavenly." (Hom. 67, in Gen. n. 4, t. iv. p. 641.) "It is death no more, but a sleep and a journey, and a translation from worse to better. Wherefore also Paul crieth aloud, 'to depart and be with Christ is much better.' But this is now, since Christ is come, since the gates of brass have been broken, since the Sun of righteousness hath shone forth over the whole world

those being at peace for whom they pray for rest[d]; they so speak not of individuals only, but of the great body of believers. (See above, p. 323, sqq.)

tine :—"Although it is not lawful to doubt that the souls of the just and pious departed live in rest." (*De Civ. D.*, iii. 19.) "Of which [our city of God] how that part had its birth, which is gathered out of mortal men to be associated to the immortal angels, and now is in its mortal pilgrimage on earth, or, in those who have died, rests in secret receptacles and abodes of souls, the same God creating them." (Id., ibid., xii. 9.) St. Cyril of Alexandria :—"The force of His words ('Father, into Thy hands I commend My Spirit') laid a beginning and foundation of good hope for ourselves too. For it ought, I deem, to be held fixed, and very justly, that the souls of the saints, departing from the earthly bodies, are deposited, as it were, in the goodness and loving-kindness of God, as into the hands of a most tenderly loving Father, and not, as some of the unbelievers think, linger in the tombs waiting for the libations there; neither are they, like the sin-loving souls, conveyed to the place of boundless torment, i.e. Hades; but rather they hasten to the hands of the Father of all, and of Christ our Saviour Who made for us this new way. For He gave up His soul into the hands of His Own Father, that we, too, having in this and through this received a beginning, may have bright hopes, firmly settled and believing, that we, when we have endured the death of the flesh, shall be in the hands of God, and in a far exceeding better state than we were in the flesh. Wherefore also the wise Paul writes to us, that it is 'better to depart and be with Christ.'" (On St. Joh., xix. 36, l. xii. Opp. iv. 1069, Aub.)

[d] Archbishop Ussher instances that St. Ambrose says of Valentinian :—"Believe we, that the stain of sin being wiped away, he mounts up cleansed, whom his faith washed and his prayers consecrated. Believe we, that he has 'mounted up from the wilderness,' i.e. this dry and uncultivated spot, to those flowery delights, where, united with his brothers, he enjoys the pleasure of eternal life." "Yet," he adds, "blessed both, if my orisons shall aught avail, no day shall pass you by in silence, no speech of mine shall pass you over unhonoured; no night shall run by, some portion of my prayers unbestowed, I will frequent you in all my oblations." (*De Obit. Valent.*, n. 77, 78, Opp. ii. 1194.) Of Theodosius, St. Ambrose says :—"Freed from doubtful conflict, Theodosius, of august memory, now enjoys perpetual light, abiding tranquillity; and, for the

This is the light, bright side. There are to be adjusted with this two sets of statements, both founded on Holy Scripture. 1. The one which unquestionably relates to the Day of Judgment, (whether the general judgment of all, or the particular judgment of the single soul, when it parts out of the body,) St. Paul's

things which he did in this body, he rejoices in the fruits of the Divine reward. Therefore, because he loved the Lord his God, he hath attained the fellowship of the saints." (*De Obit. Theod.*, n. 32, Opp. ii. 1206.) Then he prays, "Give perfect rest to Thy servant Theodosius; that rest which Thou hast prepared for Thy saints. Let his soul turn thither, whence it came down, where it cannot feel the sting of death, where it may know that this death is the end, not of nature but of fault. For in that he died, he died to sin, that now there may be no more room for sin; but he shall rise again, that life may be restored more perfect by a renewed gift. I loved him, and, therefore, I follow

description of that fire which shall try every man's work, when they whose work shall be burned shall escape, yet so as by fire. 2. The other, our blessed Lord's words of that prison, into which they who shall be "cast, shall not come forth till" they have "paid the uttermost farthing," which, while some interpreted of hell, others conceived to be a temporary prison; the debt being paid, not by anything which we can do, but by suffering.

1. Of the first class, St. Clement of Alexandria says, "*We* say that fire purifies not flesh but sinful souls, speaking not of that all-devouring and common fire, but of that discriminating fire, which penetrates the soul which passes through the fire[e]." Origen pursues this with much fuller reference to St. Paul's words: "If, after the remission of sins and the dispensation of the washing of regeneration, we sin, (as we most of us do who are not perfected like the Apostles,) and after or with this sinning do some things as we ought, what awaits us? If, after the foundation Christ Jesus, thou hast gold, much or little, silver, precious stone, but also wood, hay, stubble, what wouldest thou should happen to thee after thy departure? Enter into the holies, with thy wood, hay, and stubble, to defile the kingdom of God? Or again, abide in the fire for the hay, wood, stubble, and receive nothing for the gold, silver, precious stone? Neither were this equitable. What, then, followeth, to receive first for the wood? Plainly, that the fire consumeth the wood, hay, stubble.

[e] Strom. vii. 6, p. 851.

For God, Who is a consuming fire, consumed not His own image and likeness, but the wood, hay, stubble, superbuilded[f]." Origen is followed in this by St. Ambrose, who believed that the Day of Judgment would be prolonged so that all but great saints would have suffering in it.

"'Thou hast proved us by fire,' says David, therefore we shall be proved by fire; therefore the sons of Levi will be purged by fire; *by fire, Ezekiel; by fire, Daniel.* But these, though proved by fire, yet shall say, 'We *passed* through fire and water,' (Ps. lxvi. 12). Others shall remain in the fire; and the fire shall be as dew to them (Song of Three Children, 27), as to the Hebrew children who were exposed to the fire of the

St. Hilary also, probably, here as elsewhere[h], followed Origen; the more so, since he, with Origen[i], combines with St. Paul's words our Lord's saying, "He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire;" "for," he adds, "to those baptized in the Holy Ghost it remains to be consummated by the fire of judgment[k]." "Since we are to give an account for every

through fire, as many as desire to return to paradise; for it is not said for nothing, that, when Adam and Eve were expelled from Paradise, God placed at the outlet of Paradise a fiery sword which turned every way. *All must pass through the flames, whether he be John the Evangelist*, whom the Lord so loved as to say to Peter of him, 'If I wish him to tarry,—what is that to thee? Follow thou Me?' Some have doubted of his death; of his passage through the fire we cannot doubt, for he is in Paradise, not separated from Christ. Or, *whether he be Peter*, he who received the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, who walked upon the sea, must still say, 'We passed through fire and water, and Thou broughtest us out into a place of refreshment.' But the fiery sword will soon be turned by St. John, for iniquity is not found in him whom Righteousness loved. Whatever human defect was in him, Divine Love melted it away, for 'her wings are as the wings of fire?' (Cant. viii. 6.) He who possesses here the fire of love, will have no cause to fear there the fiery sword. But he shall be tried as silver, I, as lead; *I shall burn till the lead melts away*. If no silver be found in me, ah me! I shall be plunged down into the lowest pit, or consume entire as the stubble. Should ought of gold or silver be found in me, not for my works, but through the mercy and grace of Christ, by the ministry of the priesthood, I shall peradventure say, 'They that hope in Thee shall not be ashamed.' The fiery sword, then, shall consume iniquity, which is placed on the leaden scale. One, then, only could not feel that fire, Christ the Righteousness of God, because He did no sin; for the fire found nought in Him which it might consume." (In Ps. cxviii. Serm. xx. n. 12—14, i. 1225, B.)

[h] See *Bened. Præf.*, n. 29.

[i] *Hom.* 24, *in Luc.*, Opp. iii., 961, 962, De la Rue.

[k] *In Matt.* ii. § 4, p. 616; add *In Ps.* cxviii. Lit. iii. n. 5.

idle word, shall we desire the Day of Judgment, in which we must undergo that unspent fire, and those heavy penalties for expiating the soul from its sins? The sword will pass through the soul of blessed Mary, that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed. If that Virgin, who could contain God, shall come into the severity of the judgment, who shall dare desire to be judged of God [l]?"

St. Gregory Nazianzen says, of those who rejected the penitent: "Let these, if they will, go my way and Christ's; if not, their own. Perchance then they will be baptized with the fire, the last baptism, the more painful and longer, which devours what is coarse, like hay, and consumes the lightness of all vice [m]." He says, in a doubtful case of acting: "The end of these

shall be proved by it; the righteous pass and the flame is quiet; but it burneth the wicked and snatcheth him away[p]:" and "What shall I do, who must pass over the burning flame? How shall I be able to soar high above it[q]?" St. Ephrem connects this fire with the fire of hell, which he prays may shrink back "through the precious Body and Blood of Christ, which" "the saved had received; and that the Cross of the Son of the living God may be a bridge over the sea of fire[r]."

St. Jerome, in answer to Jovinian, (who maintained the paradox, that, as there were only two classes, those on the right hand and those on the left, all the saved would have the same reward,) alleged, among other places, those words of St. Paul: "If he whose work was burned and perished, shall lose indeed the reward of his labour, but himself be saved, yet not without the probation of fire; then, he whose work abides, which he built on the foundation, will be saved without the probation of fire, and so there will be some difference between the salvation of each[s]."

St. Augustine expresses himself as strongly as any other fathers as to the benefit of prayers for the de-

[p] *Canon* xlii., Opp. Syr., t. vi. p. 298; Burgess's Hymns of St. Ephr., p. 32.

[q] *Can.* ix., ib. 236; Burg., p. 18.

[r] See *Canon* lxxxi. init., p. 355; *Paræn.* iii. p. 386, P. xiii. p. 432; P. xxiii. pp. 458, 459; P. lxiv. p. 535; in Dr. Pusey's "Real Presence," pp. 124, 418—422.

[s] *Adv. Jov.*, lib. ii. n. 22; t. ii. p. 360, Vall. His words on Am. vii. 4, seem to me to belong to this life.

parted, and enumerates it among the errors of the Arian Aerius, that he said that oblation "ought not to be made for those asleep[t]." In regard to the purifying fire at the judgment, he used the same language as the others, briefly but undoubtingly in earlier works, and has the well-known passage on its awfulness: "'Rebuke me not, O Lord, in Thine indignation.' Let me not be among those to whom Thou wilt say, 'Go into fire everlasting, which is prepared for the devil and his angels.' 'Nor rebuke me in Thy wrath,' but purge me in this life and make me such that I shall no longer need the amending fire. (This he says) on account of those 'who shall be saved, yet so as by fire.' Why, but because here they build on the foundation

somehow throws a doubt on the interpretation, explaining the "fire" primarily of tribulation in this life[x]. Even in that last book, *De Civitate Dei*[y], he writes thus doubtfully: "After the death of this body, until the arrival of that last day of condemnation and reward after the resurrection of the bodies, should it be said that in this interval the spirits of the dead suffer

escapes that sentence (Gen. iii. 17)." "All are rebuked in the Day of Judgment, who have not the Foundation, which is Christ. But *they* are amended, i.e. purged, who, on this foundation, build up wood, hay, stubble. For they 'will suffer loss, yet shall be saved so as by fire.' What, then, prayeth he who willeth not in the anger of the Lord to be either rebuked or amended? What but that he be healed? For where health is, neither is death to be feared, nor the physician's hand, burning or cutting." *In Ps.* vi. n. 3, Opp. iv. 26. "If he shall have built on the foundation, wood, hay, stubble; that is, if he has built on the foundation of his faith worldly love; yet, if Christ be in the foundation, so as to have the first place in his heart, and nothing whatever be preferred to Him, such are endured, are suffered. The furnace shall come and shall burn the wood, hay, and stubble; and 'he shall be saved, yet so as by fire.' This will the furnace (from Gen. xv. 17) do; it will separate off some to the left; others it will in a manner strain off unto the right;—the birds it did not divide." *In Ps.* ciii. n. 5, ib. 1154. He gives the same explanation of Abraham's vision, *de Civ. Dei*, xvi. 24. 4, "By that fire is signified the Day of Judgment, severing the carnal who are to be saved by fire or condemned in fire;" and xx. 26: "From these things it seems to appear more evidently, that in their judgment there will be some purifying punishments of some;" and xxi. 16: "Let him opine that there will be no purifying punishments, save before that last and tremendous judgment."

[x] Sufferings in this life are put prominent and in the first place, as an adequate meaning of 1 Cor. iii. 11 sqq., with an expression of uncertainty as to any further fulfilment of the words "after this life," *de fide et oper.*, c. 16, pp. 62—65, Oxf. Tr. (about A.D. 413, Ben. Preface), in the *Enchiridion* (not earlier than 421, Ben. Pref.), c. 68, 69, elaborately in the *de* 8 *Dulcitii quæstt.* [A.D. 422 or 425, Ben. Pref.] q. i. n. 6.

[y] xxi. 26, 4.

such a fire, which *they* do not feel who had not habits and likings in the life of this body, which require their wood, hay, and stubble, to be burned up; but *they* feel who have carried with them the like worldly tabernacles, whether there only, or here and there, or not there because here, though they experience the fire of transitory tribulation, rescuing venial offences from damnation by consuming them, I do not oppose, for *perchance* it is true."

St. Paulinus, of Nola:—"'Our God is a consuming fire.' The Lord grant unto me here, that in me, too, for me, He be a consuming fire. May my heart burn for me with this fire to life eternal, lest my soul burn with it to perpetual punishment. For in this fire shall

hell, as some fathers do, would imply the existence of a place, where those souls should be detained, who although saved, were not yet (on account of their previous misdeeds or neglect of God) admitted to behold Him.

The very ancient Acts of St. Perpetua and St. Felicitas have been thought to have been written by Tertullian [a], and, if so, when a Montanist. In them St. Perpetua relates her being called suddenly to pray for her brother Dinocrates, to have seen him with tokens of distress in darkness, and pining for something withheld. After her prolonged prayers night and day she saw him in light, cleansed, refreshed [b]. In answer to the Pelagians, who quoted this vision, in proof that those who died without baptism might gain its benefits through the prayers of others, St. Augustine answers, (1) that it is not Canonical Scripture [c], from which, in questions of this sort, testimonies ought to be produced; (2) that "perhaps after baptism he had been in time of persecution alienated from Christ through idolatry," "for which he was in punishment, whence he was freed by his sister's prayers [d]." . St.

[a] Maintained in a letter to Valesius their editor. Ruinart leaves this doubtful, denies their being Montanist, which Valesius thought, and which to me seems most natural. Tertullian, *de Anima*, c. 55, refers to one of the visions, so they are very old anyhow.

[b] *Acta*, n. 7, 8. [c] *De Anima*, i. 10, iii. 9, Opp. x. 343, 380.

[d] *Ll. cc.* In i. 10, St. Augustine uses the stronger language: "for which he went into the damnation of death, nor went forth, but as granted to the prayers of his sister about to die for Christ." St. Augustine's conjecture of the nature of the sin falls in with the expression in the Acts, "I grieved, remembering his fall."

Augustine entirely believed the Acts, and speaks of "the exhortations of the martyrs in Divine revelations [e]."

St. Cyprian [f], in maintaining that the clemency of the Church in restoring extreme cases of sin, as of adulterers or of those who in persecution had denied the Lord, would not unnerve devotedness or continence, seems to combine both passages. He contrasts "being tortured with long anguish for sins, and long cleansed and purged by fire," with "having purged all sins by suffering" (martyrdom); the "being cast into prison, not to go hence until one has paid the last farthing," with "receiving at once the reward of faith and courage." He adds a contrast yet more awful, "to

Word of God, 'that they go not out thence until they pay the uttermost farthing,' through the fiery stream, which the prophetic spirit mentions. In proportion to the matter of the sin, will be the lingering in the passage; in proportion to the growth of the fault, will be the discipline of the discerning flame; in proportion to the things which iniquity in its folly has wrought, will be the severity of the wise punishment [h]."

St. Jerome also explains the text briefly: "What He says means this: 'Thou shalt not go forth from prison, until thou hast paid for even the least sins [i].'"

St. Chrysologus says, on the words of Abraham, "Nor can any one pass hence to you:" "The hearing of this voice terrifies me, brethren, terrifies exceedingly; shewing that, after death, those who have been consigned to penal custody in hell cannot be transferred to the rest of the saints, unless, having been already redeemed by the grace of Christ, they be freed from this hopelessness by the intercession of holy Church. So that what the sentence [of the Judge] denies them, the Church may obtain, grace bestow [k]." He seems to contemplate some extreme cases, in which, but for the foreseen intercession of the Church, sinners would have been left to hell, but were delivered from it through those foreseen intercessions.

St. Paulinus asks prayers for his brother who had died "as a debtor" to God in spiritual negligence. "We mourn his death more truly, because we perceive

[h] *De Epiph.*, Hom. iii. Bibl. P. vi. 625.
[i] *ad loc.* vii. 28, Vall. [k] *Serm.* 123, Bibl. P. vii. 943.

from those things which were done or ordered by him to his end, he did what corresponded more to our sins than to our prayers, so that he chose to pass to the Lord, a debtor rather than free." St. Paulinus then begged St. Amandus to pray with others earnestly to God, "that through your prayers He may refresh his soul with drops of His mercy. For as 'a fire kindled by Him will burn down to hell below,' so doubtless the dew also of His forgiveness will penetrate to hell, so that when scorched in the kindled darkness he be refreshed with the dewy light of His pity[1]." To Delphinus, who had converted him, he speaks of his "spiritual negligence," whereby he provided for his sons in this world, rather than remedies for the world

reconciliation; the more so, since each is founded upon Holy Scripture. On the one side it says, "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord! Amen, saith the Spirit, for they rest from their labours." For, although it is primarily said "from their labours," i.e. from the toils of this continual strife with infirmities, passions, temptations, sin, it could hardly have been said that "they rest" at all, if, as More said in the names of the departed souls, "when ye rest, *which we do never.*" On the other side, there are those awful descriptions of the judgment, especially that of St. Paul, in which he speaks of a destruction of the building which some who still built upon Christ had raised during their lives, the loss which these endure, the saving of the man himself so as by fire. Then there are our Lord's awful words, as to that gradation of punishment on breaches of charity (which are the more terrible, if that gradation be understood of eternal punishment only); as to the prison, where "the uttermost farthing" is to be paid; as to the account to be taken of every idle word. Truly, this throws a very awful light upon the Judgment. If every idle word is to be taken account of, what a very individual, searching thing, judgment must be; and this before Him, and by Him, Who loved us and Whom we offended! Awakened conscience and love can imagine no such suffering as this, short of hell. What if the soul be, for a time, or even a prolonged time, uncertain of the issue! Each such moment would be like a lifetime. St. Macarius of Alexandria says, as by Divine reve-

lation, that forty days elapsed before the judgment, and that then, according to its works, the Judge commanded the place of the soul's custody; and this the Angels are related to have assigned to him as the reason why "the Church prayed for the souls of the departed on the fortieth day[n]." St. Cyprian speaks of waiting in suspense to the Day of Judgment[o]. St. Ambrose says, that "the soul is freed from the body, and yet after this life still hangs in suspense through the uncertainty of the future judgment[p]." St. Gregory of Nyssa, uniting in one the particular and the general judgments, describes how, in the sight of the glories of heaven and the punishment of hell, the whole human race, from the first creation to the consumma-

gine that all this history of sin in those who are saved, can be without some great meaning for eternity. And yet in this life none, probably, but the greatest saints, have any conception what sin is. Then it must be revealed to them in judgment.

Again, the human instincts of persons of no depth of Christianity,—in view of the great mass of imperfect, ill-taught, erring humanity, the sheep that have gone astray having no shepherd, living and dying as the great mass of men in our large towns live and die—has turned aside from the idea of hell, and sought comfort in the deadly error of its denial. Yet the false doctrine does not lie in the assertion of a temporal penal abode, but in the denial of an eternal one. The deep instincts of humanity, combined of pity and of justice, demand a belief in some punishment, but deprecate eternal punishment, in the case of many who go out of this world; and here such teaching as has been cited from the early Church comes in to our aid. Nay, not such as those poor outcasts only whom men have most in their eyes and their minds, because their sins are more tangible and coarse, but — and even yet more than these — rich and educated men and women, who have more light than they, yet who, to outward appearance, live mere natural lives, immersed in worldliness, yet not altogether, it is hoped, separated from God, are, as they are, seemingly ripe neither for heaven or hell. God alone knows whether they have deserved hell; yet their whole tastes, thoughts, feelings, tone of mind,

would seem to fit them more for a Grecian Elysium than for the Christian's heaven and for the sight of God, of Whom they have scarce thought, save to hope that He would not cast them into hell. Will God think it best for them at once to admit them into His presence, which they have never desired? Or would they be fit to enjoy it, if He did? But if not, and if, when the soul is parted from all earthly distractions, it comes to see that God is its only Good, and is yet withheld from His beatific sight, that it may learn to long for Him, this is at once what the schools have called the *pœna damni;* and this awakened, unsatisfied longing, with the sense that, through its own fault, it remains in this darkness as to God, may be intenser

ment we may be found pure in Him; that having had grace to keep the law of God and having failed to do so, yet having died in His faith and fear, God will carry on the process of our being made fit for heaven, not by the gift of fresh grace, but by the same purifying process of adversity whereby He fines our souls in this life. We know that we have in us passive bad habits, unheavenly tastes, which the soul contracts through sin, and which remain after the guilt of sin is remitted, and that these must be removed before our entrance into heaven, into which nothing that is impure or imperfect may enter. St. Macarius thought that these were removed by God in an instant[s]. The same has been held by very thoughtful minds, who yet had a deep perception of the holiness of God's love[t]. Others may think it more probable that God removes the stain gradually, as it was gradually contracted, and that man's cleansing after death will bear some relation to his cleansing in this life, as St. Augustine often suggests. Only as regards the eternal condition, as the tree has fallen so will it lie; and the eternal distinction between the lost and saved is not confused by the process.

But not only is this thought a source of comfort, in view of such as we have mentioned, it is also fraught with unspeakable consolation in the case of all those who try to do their duty, and who put their whole trust in their Lord's Passion, and yet are conscious of many short-comings, of want of depth and reality

[s] Hom. xxvi. n. 18, in Gall. vii. 29. [t] Suarez, Disp. xlvii. 1—6.

in their contrition. To such, the idea that after death, although they will have no choice of their own, they will be so conformed to the just will of God, that they may joyfully endure that which is to prepare them for the eternal vision and fruition of Him Whom in their poor way they love above all things, is not only not appalling, however terrible, but actually conducive to holy peace. That true humility which ever seeketh the lowest room, will extend beyond the grave; and to bear the indignation of the Lord because one has sinned against Him, is a disposition of soul well-pleasing to Him.

To sum up what has gone before: while our Church has justly stigmatized popular practices which had be-

some sins (perhaps at the foreseen prayers of the Church), and the mitigation of some penalties; she has formed her Burial Service on a theory, of which this doctrine is the only interpretation: that words of hope may be used with regard to all whom she does not know to have died not in the state of grace, that is, all save the unbaptized, the suicide, and the excommunicate[y]—and that therefore by implication, with regard to all save them, however basely they may have lived, if (which God alone knows) they but died in a state of grace, the door of salvation is not closed,—that prayer and Eucharist for them are still available,—and that with trembling hearts we may in the case of those we love, who have been riven from us by death, cast ourselves on the ineffable mercy of Jesus. And so, with regard to the imperfect Christian, who has gone to his account, we may rejoice in the thought that God's love is preparing the soul for perfect fruition, and that, through the fire of suffering and the water of affliction, He is bringing him into a wealthy place[z].

Our English minds have so shrunk from the popular

[y] The Burial Service is framed for those who die in Christ; the unbaptized are excluded, because they have not been made members of Christ, and therefore prayers cannot be said over them, which express that they had been; the suicide and excommunicate, as having ceased to be so.

[z] For the legality of prayer for the dead, see case of Woolfrey *v.* Brooks, Stephen's "Clergy Law," i. 191. The acquittal of Mr. Wilson was on the ground of his own defence, that all that he meant was, that in the case of the erring and imperfect, the infinite love of God might pursue them beyond the grave.

doctrine of Purgatory, because, in the representations of it, physical suffering, and *that* the suffering of fire, (equal perhaps to that of hell, except in its duration,) has been the one thought brought before us. How could the souls be at rest there? But the very same Fathers, who speak of suffering after death, speak also of the souls being in real rest and peace, as our Service for the Burial of the Dead says, that "the souls of the faithful, after they are delivered from the burden of the flesh, are in joy and felicity." They believed, then, that their sufferings, however great, did not interfere with that joy. And so Bellarmine, too, says: "Joy and rest are given immediately upon death, to all who depart in charity. For presently all become certain of their eternal salvation, which being [illegible]

in paradise—a joy which goes on increasing day by day as God more and more flows in upon the soul, which He does abundantly, in proportion as every hindrance to His entrance is consumed away." "The souls in purgatory, having their wills perfectly conformed to the will of God, and hence partaking of His goodness, remain satisfied with their condition, which is one of entire freedom from the guilt of sin. Cleansed thus from all sin, and united in will to God, they see God clearly according to the light He imparts to them; they are conscious, too, what a good it is to enjoy God, that for this very end souls are created. Again, there is in them a conformity of will so uniting them to God, so drawing them to Him through that natural instinct whereby God is, as it were, bound up with the soul, that no description, no figure, no example, can give a clear idea of it, as it is actually felt and apprehended by inward consciousness[a]." "When the soul, by interior illumination, perceives that God is drawing it with such loving ardour to Himself, straightway there springs up within it a corresponding fire of love for its most sweet Lord and God, which causes it wholly to melt away: it sees in the Divine light how considerately, and with what unfailing providence God is ever leading it to its full perfection, and that He does it all through pure love; it feels itself stopped by sin and unable to follow the heavenly attraction. I mean that look which God casts on it to bring it into union with Himself, and

[a] Treatise on Purgatory, edited by Abp. Manning, c. 5.

this sense of the grievousness of being kept from beholding the Divine light, coupled with that instinctive longing which would fain be without hindrance to follow the enticing look; these things, I say, make up the pains of purgatory. Not that they think anything of their pains, however great they be; they think far more of the opposition they are making to the will of God, which they see clearly is burning intensely with pure love to them. God meanwhile goes on drawing the soul to Himself mightily, and, as it were, with undivided energy: this the soul knows well; and could it find another purgatory greater than this, by which it could sooner remove so great an obstacle, it would immediately plunge therein, im-

tory" would ever have been censured in it? Anyhow, *this* doctrine was not included in that censure, since it was not taught. But what heart, which has known but a little of the love of Jesus, and has hated its own sin, would not respond to the thought:—

"It is the face of the Incarnate God
Shall smite thee with that keen and subtle pain;
And yet the memory which it leaves will be
A sovereign febrifuge to heal the wound;
And yet withal it will the wound provoke,
And aggravate and widen it the more.—
When, then, (if such thy lot,) thou seest thy Judge,
The sight of Him will kindle in thy heart,
All tender, gracious, reverential thoughts.
Thou wilt be sick with love, and yearn for Him,
And feel as though thou could'st but pity Him,
That one so sweet should e'er have placed Himself
At disadvantage such, as to be used
So vilely by a being so vile as thee.
There is a piercing in His pensive eyes,
Will pierce thee to the quick, and trouble thee.
And thou will hate and loathe thyself; for, though
Now sinless, thou wilt feel that thou hast sinned,
As never didst thou feel; and wilt desire
To slink away, and hide thee from His sight;
And yet wilt have a longing, aye to dwell
Within the beauty of His countenance.
And these two pains, so counter and so keen,—
The longing for Him, when thou seest Him not;
The shame of self at thought of seeing Him,—
Will be thy veriest, sharpest purgatory[4]."

[4] The Dream of Gerontius, pp. 43, 44.

II. It is a well-known historical fact that it was the shameless traffic in indulgences which burst the barrier which had long pent up the dissatisfaction which prevailed on account of the scandals and corruptions in the Church. The reforming Councils had no power to stem the increasing corruption; and the expensive tastes of the Roman Curia demanding more and more money, a doctrine, which had its roots in primitive antiquity, was preached in a way to destroy all Christian morality. To the Dominican and Franciscan Orders, now fallen from their first purity, much of the blame is due, though it is fair to state that they were not the only guilty persons. A hundred years before the promulgation of the Articles, this practice

Apostles[g]; as exercised by St. Paul at Corinth[h], when he forgave in the person of Christ. Such power was inseparable from all canonical penance upon deadly sin, the "godly discipline," the loss of which the English Church yearly laments, when "such persons as stood convicted of notorious sin were put to open penance and punished in this world, that their souls might be saved in the Day of the Lord[i]." For it is essential to law, that the same offence should be subjected to the same penalty. But equity alike and mercy required that this severity should be mitigated in view of the subsequent conduct, penitence, and circumstances of the offender. And this the rather, because the question related, not only to the remission of canonical penance, appointed to certain sins, but (and that chiefly) to the restoration to the communion of the Body and Blood of Christ. Hence it was provided in most cases that communion should be given, in dangerous illness, to those excommunicate, yet under penitential discipline; and on the approach of a new persecution in St. Cyprian's time, the lapsed were restored universally, that they "might be fortified with the protection of the Body and Blood of Christ[k]." And, more generally, (as was reasonable,) the period of penitence was abridged, on evidence of more than usual sorrow for the sins[l]; as, contrariwise, it was prolonged to the

[g] St. Matt. xvi. 10 *sqq.*, xviii. 18.
[h] 2 Cor. ii. 4—10.
[i] Comm. Service.
[k] St. Cypr., *Ep.* lvii. *ad Corn.*
[l] "*Conc. Neocæs.*, can. 3. *Conc. Anc.*, c. 2, 7, 16. *Nic.* i. c. 12. *Arelat.* ii., c. 10. Canons of St. Basil, *Ep. ad Amphil.*, c. 4, 7, 53, 74, 84. St. Greg. Nyss., *Ep. Can. ad Letoium*, can. 8—11, 13, 18, 20." St. Leo, Ep. 79, c. 5.

impenitent [m]. "When fervour and discipline were weakened, the Church, both in East and West, substituted lighter penances, sooner than the penitent should refuse all acts of penitence, and so risk the loss of his soul [n]." Penitents were also restored to communion, either altogether, or at an earlier period, at the solicitation of those who were about to die, or had suffered for Jesus Christ; in other words, at the instance of martyrs and confessors. Sometimes that restoration was delayed until the martyrdom was accomplished. The martyrs at Vienne obtained restoration for all the lapsed at once, yet at the hands of the Bishop [o]. St. Dionysius notices the carefulness of the Alexandrian martyrs in recommending those whose

the stages of the public penitence might be abridged by him who was over this matter." Pope Innocent laid down that the ordinary term of remission, the Thursday before Easter, might be anticipated for those in whom "the Priests saw fitting satisfaction[t]." By the Council of Ancyra, bishops might deal (*φιλανθρωπεύεσθαι*) indulgently with those who had taken part in idol-sacrifices[u].

The Crusades awoke through Europe a deep sense of religion among all classes; and when religion affects all classes, it has been well said that needs must it be, that it should become coarse. As an inducement to make men take up the cross, the privileges which the Church was said to hold within her treasuries were freely unlocked to the faithful. It was said that as our Lord and the saints have merited more than was necessary, there was a disposable stock of merits, which the Church could bestow on all who were fitly prepared to receive the benefit, and remission of sin was freely pronounced to all who joined the army that was marching against the Saracens; and these indulgences were declared to be available not only for the living but for the dead. When the Crusades ceased, actual service being no longer possible, the permission to buy oneself off the Crusade was allowed to the indulgences, and they became marketable. To this day in Spain you may obtain a dispensation for fasting, except on three days in the year, by the

[t] *Ep.* XXV. *ad Decentium.* [u] Can. 5.

purchase of the Bull of the Crusade for five-pence, if a lay person.

Indulgences were, from the middle of the eleventh century, granted on the occasion of the dedication of churches and canonization of saints. On the occasion of the re-consecration of the Portiuncula, in the time of St. Francis of Assissi, A.D. 1221, the first *plenary* indulgence seems to have been granted by Pope Honorius III[x].

In the beginning of the fourteenth century, a new phase of the doctrine manifested itself in the system of jubilees. In 1300, Boniface VIII. issued a Bull of Jubilee, inviting the faithful to frequent the Basilicas of St. Peter and St. Paul, promising to all who ap-

tained the practice, as being the exercise of a power given to the Church by God, and used in the most ancient times also, set itself to check the abuses which it acknowledged[z]. How far this last has succeeded, one has no power of judging; but moderate theologians have since that time generally expressed themselves with great candour on the subject, holding indulgences in the primitive sense to be only the relaxation of those canonical penalties, which, in proportion to the gravity of his offence, the sinner ought to endure; and that in the case of those for the dead, they are but the prayers of the Universal Church, which the Pope and all bishops offer in the name of the Church to God, and which God hears, or hears not, as seemeth good to Him.

Mabillon says that "there are three degrees of indulgences: 1. In the time of the Apostles, the relaxation from excommunication, as in the case of the incestuous Corinthian; 2. In the time of the martyrs, when at the instance of their prayers the public penance was relaxed; and 3. at the time of the failure of the public penance which in the ninth century began to be not a little diminished. From that time certain indulgences, some more ample than others, were granted, for the remission of the penalty imposed upon or due to sin. The use of public penance was still in force in those times; but it could be bought off either by Masses and other suffrages, or by alms,

[z] Session xxv. *De Indulgentiis.*

or by pilgrimages, or by pious works[a]. The Council of Cloveshoe (A.D. 747) thought the buying off of penance by alms, a new invention, a dangerous custom ('nova adinventio, periculosa consuetudo'). By degrees, however, this method of redemption prevailed."

"In A.D. 878, indulgences were for the first time granted to the dead. Pope John VIII. granted in that year an indulgence to those who fell or were to fall in battle with the Pagans; and the Bishops of Bavaria besought the same favour for the soul of the Emperor Arnulph, which they desired should be absolved by his authority[b]." The notion of a war against the infidels being a directly religious act, involved as a sequence

and by the prayers of the whole Catholic Church, absolve him from the chains of his sins[c]." That of A.D. 1122 says: "that to those who go to Jerusalem to defend the Christians, and to aid in breaking down the tyranny of the infidels, we concede the remission of all their sins[d]."

However much the Council of Trent may have cleared away the difficulties with regard to pardons, by defining them to be only a remission of the canonical discipline of the Church, it cannot be denied that at the promulgation of the Article there was a substantial abuse which well deserved its reprobation. What that abuse was will best be seen from Erasmus' tract, *De Utilitate Colloquiorum*, where he defends the line he took with regard to them: "Nor do I, then, condemn papal indulgences and bulls; but I censure that greatest of triflers who, thinking nothing of amendment of life, presumes to place his whole trust on human pardon." So in the colloquy "Rash Vows," speaking of one who died on pilgrimage:—

"*Con.* Was he, then, so pious?

"*Am.* Nay, the greatest trifler imaginable.

"*Con.* Whence, then, do you draw the conclusion (that he is now in heaven)?

"*Am.* Because he had his satchel stuffed full of the most ample indulgences."

[c] In Baronius, A. 1118, xviii. That against Roger, Count of Sicily, in like way, "remitted all sins" under the same terms. Baron., A. 1127, v.

[d] Given by Calixtus II. in the Council of Lateran, A.D. 1122, can. 11.

Thus in the Vision of Piers Ploughman:—

"Then preched a pardoner, as he a prest were,
Brought forth a bulle, with many bishope's seles,
And seide that himself might assolven them all
Of falshod, of fastynge, of a-vowes y-broken."

These indulgences were not granted by the Pope only, but by all bishops [e].

"The 'Questionarius,' 'Pardoner,' or 'Preacher,' was already so scandalous, that the antipope, Clement VII., in granting indulgences for building the nave of the cathedral of Aberdeen, A.D. 1380, declares that they shall be of no force if hawked about by these spiritual pedlars: 'Presentes autem mitti per Questuarios districtius inhibemus, eas si secus actum fuerit carere

in the 'flighting' of Kennedy and Dunbar, in 'the Satire of the Three Estates,' and in 'Symmie and his brother;' but no portrait of him can be compared with that drawn by the master-hand of Chaucer. Lindsay paints him as disheartened and discredited:—

'But now alace! our gret abusion
Is cleirly knawen till our confusion
Quhilk I may sair repent.
Of all credence I am now guyte,
For ith man holds me in despyte,
That reids the New Testament[h].'

"The Council of Trent silenced him in 1546, and suppressed him altogether in 1562[i]."

III. "Worshipping and adoration, as well of images as of relics," is the next point excepted against. In the state of ignorance in which the common people were for some time before the Reformation, it is not surprising that this should be so. There is always a danger of religion among the unlettered becoming superstitious, and even in northern nations, there is a tendency to turn objects of faith into anthropomorphic forms. The employment of Christian art, necessary and advisable as it was, to keep alive a belief among the poor, on St. Gregory's principle, that pictures are the books of the ignorant, had of course its dangerous tendency; and, as a matter of fact, a cultus of images had grown up which required

[h] Poet. Works, tom. ii. p. 9, 27.

[i] Robertson's *Statuta Eccl. Scot.*, vol. ii. p. 288.

to be checked, and all its coarser manifestations to be condemned. That condemnation is still due where men of education, in the nineteenth century, have gone so far as to attribute a sort of quasi-sacramental value to images, as is said to be the case with some recent theologians. On the other hand, the absence of pictures can alone account for the gross ignorance of religion so prevalent among the peasantry of England.

The whole history of the employment of art in religion is intensely interesting. In the earliest times there is an entire absence of images, though not of pictures, from the worship of the Christians. Tertullian seems to deny that any images were used. Origen and the apologists follow in the same line[k],

and sculpture altogether[n]; yet Tertullian himself mentions the symbol of the Good Shepherd on the chalice[o]; and the Encratites were blamed for a certain heathenish cultus to the images of Christ[p]. The statue at Cæsarea Philippi which Eusebius relates, "they *say*, is the image of Jesus," set up by the woman whom our Lord had healed of the issue of blood; and the pictures of St. Peter and St. Paul are said, at least by him, to have been made "after a Gentile custom of so honouring benefactors[q]." Then, however, the *vetri Christiani*, and other articles in the Christian museums, shew that gradually the use of art in aid of religion asserted itself. It did not do so, without conciliar resistance, as in the celebrated Canon of Elvira: "We will not have pictures placed in churches, lest that to which our worship is directed be seen on the walls." There is the history of St. Epiphanius destroying in Palestine the "picture as of Christ or some saint" (he remembered not which), and his request to John, Bishop of Jerusalem, to enjoin that "such veils which are against our religion, should not be

de Spect., 23; *de Idol.*, 3, 4; St. Cypr. *Test.*, iii. 59. St. Augustine held all the Decalogue to be binding on Christians except as to the Sabbath; *c. Faust.*, xv. 4, 7, xix. 8; *con.* 2 *Epp. Pelag.*, iii. 4.

[n] Clem. Al., *Protr.*, n. 4, p. 18; Orig. *c. Cels.*, iv. 31; Tert., *de idol.*, 3, 4; *c. Hermog.*, init.

[o] *De Pudic.*, c, 6, 10. In note 28, on St. Paulinus, *Ep.* xi., it is said "under this form Christ occurs in the Roman Hagioglypta." St. Paulin., Opp., t. ii. p. 35. Constantine set them up in the market-places. —*Eus. de Vit. Const.*, iii. 49.

[p] St. Iren. i. 25, 6.

[q] H. E., vii. 18.

hung up in the Church of Christ;" and St. Augustine denies that Christians had images in Churches[r], and speaks strongly against them[s]. On the other hand, we have St. Paulinus of Nola's praise of Sulpicius Severus[t], for having had St. Martin as "a perfect imitation of Christ," painted "in the place where man is formed anew" [the Baptistery] as "an object of imitation." Out of modesty, he blames him for representing himself[u]. St. Paulinus himself had pictures of Job with his sores, Tobit in his blindness, Esther and Judith on two side doors of the Basilica of St. Felix, and figures of Martyrs on the centre door. In the interior he mentions symbols only in mosaic; Christ as a Lamb; a hand with a crown, symbolizing the pre-

tures of the martyrdoms, such as that basilica had, were to be found commonly in the basilicas of martyrs [b]. Evidently at first these paintings were historical, and St. Gregory, in his Epistle to Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles, commends him for having broken and cast out some images: "I praise thee that thou wert zealous, that nothing made with hands shall be worshipped [c]." Then he distinguished between their use for instruction, and their abuse for worship.

From the time of Constantine the cross continued more and more to be honoured; he himself set it up in many places [d]; it was worn as a protection by St. Macrina, the sister of St. Gregory of Nyssa [e]; it was defended as an object of honour by blessed Jerome of Jerusalem [f]. St. Nilus recommends for the decoration of a church one and one only cross, in the sanctuary to the East [g], and histories contained in the Old and New Testament on every side, done by the hand of the most skilful painter, in order that they who are unable to read the Divine Scriptures, may have a remembrancer of the worthy actions of those who have

[b] "Whoso cometh unto some spot like this, where is a memorial of the just, and a holy relic, his soul," &c. (Ibid.)

[c] Epp. ix. 105, xi. 13.

[d] *De laud. Const.*, c. ix. p. 740.

[e] *Ep. ad Johan. Hieros.*, translated into Latin by St. Jerome, Ep. lx. He uses stronger language in relation to the image made of the Blessed Virgin by the Collyridians, Hær. 79, p. 447. Another statement of the unlawfulness of images was quoted from him in *Conc. Const. in Act.* vi.; t. v. *Conc. Nic.*, ii.

[f] Galland., tom. vii. p. 530.

[g] Lib. iv. Ep. lxi. p. 491, 2.

nobly served the true God, and be excited to emulate their "glorious excellencies." In the accusation against Ibas in the Council of Chalcedon, mention is made of "the crosses of silver and gold offered and dedicated [h]."

The history of the enlarged use of images is obscure. Of their use apart from churches, there is the memorable instance of St. Meletius, whose image, St. Chrysostom relates, was placed by the Antiochenes on rings, seals, cups, and chamber-walls [i]. Theodoret mentions a report that small images of St. Symeon Stylites were set up at the entrances of all the workshops, as a protection [k]. St. Chrysostom speaks of *ἀγάλματα* which stood in the church [l], which some think to have

of the Council of Frankfort rested probably on the misinformation that the Council of Nice had enacted that they who did not pay to the images of the saints service "or adoration, in the same way as to the Deific Trinity, should be adjudged anathema [p]."

The dark ages set in, then commences the time of those miraculous and rudely-carved representations which still hold their places in some countries,—the Volto Santo at Luca, and the like. Many sacred images were brought from the East in the times of the Iconoclastic troubles, and formed centres of devotion in the West: God probably blessing the poor ignorant creatures who came to Him with what imperfect faith they had. Nor them only, for from that rude Byzantine art sprung the unspeakable devotional glories of the early Tuscan and Sienese schools; the pictures that speak to the soul as very symbols of divine truth; which pourtray, as no human hand before or since has done, the purity of the Virgin Mother, the ever young, ever fresh bliss of the saints in glory, the ineffable sufferings of God made man for us. God is to be praised for the gifts which He bestowed, obtained by prayer and sacramental communion, on Beato Angelico da Fiesole, and on those who have toiled in the same spirit, Sano di Pietro Duccio, and Gentil da Fabriano. Next to the development of a Christian philosophy, the greatest desideratum of the times is the development of a school of Christian art.

Of the *having* images or pictures, nothing is said in

[p] Conc. Francof., can. 2, quoted ib.

the Article, only of worshipping them. It was a common saying among many schoolmen, that "the same honour was due to the image as to the original, and so that the image of Christ was to be worshipped with *latria*, that of the Blessed Mary with *hyperdulia*, that of the saints with *dulia* [q]." But this language was easily misunderstood; and probably nothing more was intended than what was expressed in the very opposite way, viz. that "the image was nowise to be worshipped in itself, but only the original was to be worshipped before the image [r]," according to the lines engraven in a church at Venice, contemporary, it is thought, with the second Council of Nice:—

of his own time, which said, "that the people ought to be admonished by preachers not to adore images [x]."

A vivid representation calls forth in us the feelings which are felt towards the original. It is so in feelings merely human. People kiss the picture or some relic of one whom they deeply love, as if it were the person. The picture of a friend speaks to us, and people speak to it, as if it were himself. If one kissed the feet of the Crucifix, it would be accompanied by a mental act to our crucified Redeemer, such as St. Mary Magdalene's when she kissed His feet in the feast; it would be an act of humble penitence and adoring love to Himself as our Redeemer. The act would be addressed to our Lord Himself, although elicited by the image.

The homilies illustrate what it was, in regard to the veneration or worship of images, which the framers of the Articles had before their eyes [y]. The Council of Trent reformed in the direction which our writers wished, but, by reforming, owned the existence of the evils complained of:—

"Into these holy and salutary observances should

[x] *Conc. Senon.*, c. 14; *Mogunt.*, c. 41, ib.

[y] See Tract XC., p. 32—37, ed. Pusey. "Thus there was a rood at Boxley, in Kent, made with devices to move the eyes and lips (but not to see and speak), which, in the year 1538, was publickly shewn at S. Paul's by the preacher, then Bishop of Rochester, and there broken to pieces; the people laughing at that which they adored but an hour before. Such imposture was also used at Hailes Abbey, in Gloucestershire, where the blood of a duck (for such it appeared at the dissolving of the house) was so cunningly conveyed that it spirted or sprung up, to the great amazement of common people, accounting it the blood of our Saviour." (Fuller, Ch. Hist., book vi. sect. iv. 8—10, vol. ii. p. 244, ed. 1837.)

any abuses creep, of these the Holy Council strongly [*vehementer*] desires the utter extinction; so that no images of a false doctrine, and supplying to the uninstructed opportunity of perilous error, should be set up. All superstition, too, in invocation of saints, veneration of relics, and sacred use of images be put away; all filthy lucre be cast out of doors; and all wantonness be avoided; so that images be not painted or adorned with an immodest beauty; or the celebration of saints and attendance on relics be abused to revelries and drunkenness; as though festival days were kept in honour of saints by luxury and lasciviousness."

IV. The worshipping and adoration of relics, is the

To attach a sanctity to the bodies of the saints, which in life had been the temples of the Holy Ghost, which had carried Christ formed within them, was one of the earliest feelings of the Church[z]. To save the bodies of the martyrs, after their Passions, became the privilege of the early Christians. The more solid parts of St. Ignatius, torn by wild beasts, were carried to Antioch, wrapped in linen, and bequeathed to the Church[a]. The Church of Smyrna collected the bones of St. Polycarp from the fire, where they had been cast to prevent his body being carried off[b]. St. Saturus plunged a ring into his wound and gave it to Pudens as a memorial[c]. Clothes stained with the sweat of St. Cyprian were eagerly coveted[d]. At the martyrdom of St. Vincentius, the multitude received the blood in linen cloths with sacred veneration, to be a benefit to their posterity[e]. The governor Maximus gave notice that he would not allow the relics of St. Tarachus and others to be carried away, but was defeated by the Christians' prayers[f]. St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and Paulinus of Milan, agree in attesting the miracle of the restoration of a well-known blind-born man to sight, when he

[z] See a magnificent passage in the peroration of St. Chrys. Comm. on the Romans. Hom. 32, p. 757, ed. Mont.

[a] *Martyr. S. Ignat.*, n. vii.

[b] *Ep. Encycl. Eccl. Smyrn. de mart. S. Polyc.*, n. 17, 18.

[c] *Pass. SS. Perp. et Fel.*, n. 21, p. 96, Ruin.

[d] *Vit. et pass. St. Cypr.*, in Ruin., p. 214.

[e] *Pass. St. Vincent.*, ib., p. 395. Prudentius says the same, probably from the Acts, *Hymn.* v. *Pass. St. Vincent.*, 341—44.

[f] *Pass. St. Tarachi*, &c., Ruinart., p. 490, 491.

touched the hem of the garment which covered the newly-discovered relics of St. Gervasius and Protasius [g]. The miracle stopped the persecution against St. Ambrose. St. Cyril of Jerusalem mentions that the world was filled with wood of the Holy Cross which was discovered there in his time [h]. The depositing of the relics of martyrs, as an honour of basilicas, is mentioned by Eusebius [i], by Nilus [k], the eye-witness of the martyrdom of St. Theodotus, by St. Gregory of Nyssa on the Martyr Theodorus [l], and on the forty martyrs [m], and by St. Ambrose [n]. St. Basil promises to assist the zeal of Arcadius by sending him some martyrs' relics, if he can discover them [o]; he asks Soranus to send him some, "since the persecution in your parts even now

a scruple of sacred ashes more than I need for dedicating the basilica which will soon be completed in the Name of the Lord, I would have sent it to you [q]."

St. Jerome asks Vigilantius whether it is ill done of the Bishop of Rome, who, over the venerable bodies of the departed Peter and Paul, offers sacrifice to the Lord, and accounts their tombs Christ's altars; and not the Bishop of one city only, but the Bishops of the whole world who go into the basilicas of dead men, &c. He relates that the Emperor Constantius "translated to Constantinople the relics of Andrew, Luke, Timothy,—before whose relics demons howl; that Arcadius translated the bones of blessed Samuel from Judæa into Thrace; while from Palestine to Chalcedon the crowds were as one mighty hive, and lifted on high with one voice the praise of Christ [r]." In the fourth century the system was distinctly recognised and regulated by Canon, as in the 5th Council of Carthage, A.D. 398, which legislated in regard to the wayside altars erected as memories of the martyrs [s]. The coarse attack of the inn-keeper Vigilantius was not of a nature to gain him followers, or to disturb the tide of pious feeling. Eminent fathers believed that there resided power in the bodies also of the just, which had so long been the temples of the Holy Ghost [t], that God witnessed to

[q] *Ep.* xxxi. *ad Sever.*, init. [r] *Adv. Vigil.*, n. 4.

[s] Can. xiv. It directs that the bishops should overthrow those in which it should be proved that there was no body or relic of martyrs.

[t] St. Cyril Jerus., *Cat.* xviii. 16. "There reposes in that body a power greater than that of the soul itself,—the grace of the Holy

them who had witnessed to Him, and that He shewed, in this way also, that "right dear in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints," that prayers were answered near the bodies of the martyrs, and that the touch of their relics dispelled disease. The evidence is irresistible[u]. Modern theorists will solve

Spirit, which, by the miracles which it performs, gives proof to all of the resurrection." (St. Chrys. *de St. Babyl.*, t. ii. p. 635.)

[u] St. Hilary says:—"Everywhere was the holy blood of the martyrs received, and daily are their venerable bones a testimony, while demons howl at them, while sicknesses are dispelled, while wonderful works are seen." (*Cont. Const. Imp.*, n. 8.) "The tombs of the apostles and martyrs, by the operations of miracles, speak of Him [Christ]." (*De Trin.*, l. xi. n. 3, p. 1084.) St. Gregory of Nazianzum:—"By them devils are cast out and maladies cured; whose bodies, even alone, whether touched or honoured, can effect as much as their holy souls; even whose drops

the knot by believing that the cures were wrought by the subjective excitation of spirit and the heated imagination of the ignorant votary. It is a humbler and surer line to take, to say that God, dealing with a rude and unlettered race, permitted that these relics should be the *media* of His own mercy in cure.

All through the dark ages relic-worship prevailed, but it was after the Crusades that it arrived at its intensity. The thought of the Holy Land filled all Europe with the tenderest sentiments of love and compassion, from the contemplation of the Life and Sufferings of the Saviour; and the soldiers of the Cross brought home objects which purported to be of the most sacred nature. Beautiful churches, in the purest taste of the first Pointed style were erected to receive them, and the skill of the goldsmith and enameller enlisted to do honour to the blessed objects in a style which still excites our admiration. At first, no doubt, the sight of these relics advanced

St. Victricius, A.D. 396:—"Do they [the particles of the relics] afford healing to the miserable, in a different way in the East, at Constantinople, Antioch, Thessalonica, Neissa, Rome, in Italy? Are the suffering bodies cleansed in different ways? John Evangelist heals at Ephesus, and in many other places; and with us is his same medicine. At Bologna heals Proculus, Agricola, and here too we see their majesty; Antoninus heals at Placentia; Saturninus heals, Trajan heals in Macedonia. Nazarius healeth at Milan; Mutius, Alexander, Datysus, Chyndeus, infuse the grace of health with abundant virtue. Healeth Rogata, Leonida, Anastasia, Anatoclia. I ask, is the remedy of the saints one with us, another with others? But if all the saints everywhere defend with like tenderness those who reverence them [*cultores*], *cultus* is to be added, not majesty to be discussed." (*De laud. Sanct.*, n. xi. Gall. viii. 232; see also Theodoret, below, pp. 413, 414.)

piety. Who would not feel his heart burn within him at the sight of a real Thorn that once pierced that Sacred Brow? But where will not the idolatry of gain creep in? Even St. Augustine had to complain of the sale of relics, probably fictitious. The enemy "hath dispersed on every side so many hypocrites, under the garb of monks, strolling about the provinces, nowhere sent, nowhere settled, nowhere standing, nowhere sitting. Some hawk about the limbs of martyrs, if indeed they be martyrs[x]." So now, too, the trade in relics led to the discovery of impostures, and there was a reaction. In vain the Friars preached them up; the feeling turned against them, and at the Reformation in England and Scotland, well

sun and moon, nor angels, nor archangels, nor cherubim, nor seraphim, lest we serve the creature more than the Creator Who is blessed for evermore. But we honour the relics of martyrs, that we may adore Him Whose martyrs they are. We honour the servants, that the honour of the servants may redound to the Lord, Who says, 'He that receiveth you, receiveth Me.'"

V. Of all the points of difference between unreformed Churches and ourselves, there is none which has practically widened the difference so much as the invocation of saints. The divergence has operated on both sides. Roman Catholics and Orthodox Easterns regard the disuse of this practice as an evidence of great want of faith, and of the presence of an impious unsupernatural temper on the part of the reformed, while these in return have accused of superstition, and even idolatry, the having recourse to any created being in the way of prayer[z]. One cannot help honouring both sentiments, however contrariant their practical results. To live in an atmosphere of faith, to recognise in a very loving and practical way the Communion of Saints, to have faith and confidence even in the most subordinate powers of the unseen world, sheds a beautiful light over the Christian life of those who have been trained in such devotions; on the other hand, one respects that jealousy for the honour and incommunicable privileges of God which sees danger where

[z] Palmer's Essay "On Orthodox Communion."

others find food for faith, and which centres all its thought on the one Supreme invisible Object of the aspirations of the believing soul.

Viewing the matter from this dispassionate light, it shall be our duty, first to assert the truth of the literal meaning of the Article, that the doctrine of Romanists "on the Invocation of Saints" is "a fond thing, vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God;" and then, to shew what has been the real mind of the ancient Church upon this point of doctrine.

There will always be a tendency in human nature to rest in something short of the pure essence of God. His unapproachable holiness bears down upon the

cannot accept the blessed truths of a God united to human nature, and so human nature has avenged itself, and he is now given over to the cultus of men who ought not to be worshipped, and the devotion to Ali, Hooseyn, and Hooseyn, has avenged the neglect of the true God and our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Again, not merely are there deep principles in the human mind which lead to a resting in secondary worship, but the political condition of a people will strongly influence belief in this respect. It cannot be doubted that the state of the old heathenism, at the time of the State-establishment by Constantine, told sensibly in the direction of the development of saint-worship. In Italy, specially, the old Pagan ideas got baptized, and the religious devotion of the vulgar was transformed from the elder forms of heathenism to the purer cultus of the personages of the Holy Gospel and of the Church. That the world gained immensely by the change, the most bigoted religionist must admit. To withdraw the mind from the sensual images that belonged to the beautiful but corrupt Nature-worship of the heathen, to those of the self-denying heroism of the martyrs, must be acknowledged as an immense gain by all those who hold that the imagination exercises power over the whole man; but still, beneficial as the process was, it cannot be doubted that it carried a danger within it, and that it laid the foundation of a state of things, in which a lower standard of religious morality came to be tolerated, and the idea of the one true God to be obscured. Not that either result of

necessity took place. M. Comte maintains[a] that, at no time have Monotheistic ideas been so prevalent or strong, as in the full sunlight of the Virgin-worship of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; but still the religion of the vulgar will always exaggerate tendencies, and therefore such a warning as that contained in the Article is specially salutary.

At the time of the Reformation all this had specially to be insisted upon. The popularity of some devotions must have been very great, if the offerings at St. Thomas's shrine at Canterbury in one year amounted to £954 6s. 3d.; while that at our Lord's was nothing, and at Our Lady's £4 1s. 8d. The gross immorality which was everywhere prevalent found a satisfaction for

nature, and therefore well deserves our careful consideration. This can best be attained by tracing out the development of the doctrine in the history of the Church. We have, then, to ask two questions: 1. Did the Early Church believe in the intercession of those holy persons who have gone to their rest? and 2. Did the Early Church think it right to address words of petition to them? With regard to the first of these questions, there is not a shadow of a doubt. But, before entering into the details of evidence, it may be as well to point out that it is not only in conformity to all our Christian instincts of love, but that it is a truth of Scripture. All creatures are, of course, alike at an infinite distance from God. The highest creature which God could create must be a creature still; and, as a creature, finite; and everything finite is alike distant from the Infinite. But God, "who has ordained and constituted the services of angels and men in wonderful order," has made their mutual ministries a part of the harmony of love in His creation. Not only does Holy Scripture declare, that they are "all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation [b]," but it speaks of offices which they render, the higher to the lower, and individually to ourselves [c]. "Twice, in Daniel's visions, an angel enquireth of one most exalted angel, (who yet himself is a creature, for he swears by the living God [d],) and receives an answer [e]." In Zechariah

[b] Heb. i. 14.
[c] Dan. xii. 6, viii. 13.
[d] Ibid. xii. 7.
[e] Dr. Pusey, Daniel the Prophet, p. 521.

we see that angels whom God had sent to "walk to and fro on the earth," give account to "the angel of the Lord[f]." A superior angel, in another vision, directs another angel to instruct Zechariah[g]. In regard to ourselves, it is our Lord Who told us of the angels of the little ones, "their angels," "always beholding the face of His Father in heaven[h]," as a ground of our reverent care not to offend them. It was the Apostolic body which, thinking it impossible that Peter himself, whom they knew to have been in prison, could be at the door, said, "it is his angel[i]." They were mistaken as to the fact, but they gave expression to their belief. Our Lord Himself allowed His angels to minister to Him, either together[k], or in an individual relation to Him. In His dread agony, He admitted of the

of God, yet since the angel prayed he must have had a created existence[s]. God's declaration, "Though Moses and Samuel stand before Me, My mind is not towards this people[t]," by the force of the words implies that they could intercede, though, doubtless, knowing the will of God, they did not. Isaiah's appeal to God implies the same, "For Thou art our Father, though [or, for] Abraham knoweth us not, and Israel will not acknowledge us[u]." For the belief that God would own them as their Father, though for their misdeeds the fathers of their race should give them up, implies that these ordinarily did remember them. The prophet contrasts the endurance of God's love with the possible failure of any manifestation of man's. But then this implies a real care on the part of man, although, like Abraham's intercession for Sodom and Gomorrah, it had to come to an end at last. This belief continued on, after the Canon of the Old Testament was closed. In Tobit the angel Raphael says, "When thou didst pray, I offered thy prayer to the Lord[x]," and says that he is one of the seven holy angels who present the prayers of the saints, and enter into the presence of the glory of the Holy One[y]. And Judas sees, in a vision,

[s] Job xxxiii. 23, is probably an anticipation of our Lord's coming in the flesh. See Pusey on Daniel, p. 519.

[t] Jer. xv. 1. The words are אִם יעמד, not לוֹ. Comp. Jer. v. 2; Is. i. 18, x. 22; Am. v. 22; Job ix. 20. Even when spoken of things impossible (Jer. xxii. 24; Ps. cxxxix. 8) אִם presupposes them as possible, since it speaks of what would follow.

[u] Is. lxiii. 16. [x] Tobit xii. 12.

[y] Ibid. 15. These (with 2 Macc.) are alleged in proof by Origen, *de Orat.*, n. 11, t. i. p. 213; *in Joann.*, t. 13, n. 57, Opp. iv. 273.

Onias, "the High Priest who prayed for all the people of the Jews," and Jeremiah, "environed with great beauty and majesty;" of whom Onias saith, "This is a lover of his brethren and of the people of Israel; this is he that prayeth much for the people and for all the holy city, Jeremiah the prophet of God[z]." Both are confirmed in the New Testament, where heaven is opened to us and we see "the angel[a]," who "stood before the altar, having a golden censer, and there was given to him much incense, that he should offer of the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar, which was before the throne; and the smoke of the incense, with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God out of the angel's hands;" and not he only, but they who are represented by "the

which are written in heaven, and the spirits of just men made perfect[c]." In Jesus, our Head, are "united things in earth and things in heaven[d]." Angels and men are one family. The "Jerusalem which is above" is the mother of us all[e]. But then, not of us on earth only is that true, that "we, being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another[f]," and that "the members should have the same care one for another; and whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice in it; now ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular[g]." As our blessed Lord says that He is persecuted in His members, or receives our benefits in them, so they who are perfected must have a care for us, who are yet in our pilgrimage, and are beset by infirmities, and whose crown is as yet unwon; and we rejoice in the glory and honour of those who have attained. Since the angels rejoice over one sinner that repenteth, they must have a very individual love for those of our race, and know much of our individual histories; and so then must those of our race, who are admitted among them, and are "like unto the angels." Angels and saints are one body, Scripture saith. It is, at least, a pious belief, that, out of the redeemed, every rank of the angels shall be filled up, or, if none fell from it[h], shall be enlarged. Nay, as our Divine Lord

[c] Heb. xii. 22, 23. [d] Col. i. 20. [e] Gal. iv. 26.
[f] Rom. xii. 5. [g] 1 Cor. xii. 25—27.
[h] The seraphim, with their burning love. Satan, the chief of those who fell, is thought to have been one of the Cherubim. (Ezek. xxviii. 14.)

for ever in-oned with His Divine Nature this our poor human nature, the lowest of His rational creation, so, in the nearest possible relation to His Godhead has He, from our same race, placed her, whom, by His grace, He prepared for that unspeakable nearness to Himself; whom, through those her early years, He formed to be the sacred shrine for His Deity; whom He taught to believe what was in human sight impossible, yet which, if brought to pass, involved the peril of utter shame; her, through whose obedience the curse of Eve's disobedience was annulled; from whose "Behold the handmaid of the Lord, be it unto me according to Thy word," her own redemption and the redemption of the world had its beginning. No

I grant to sit with Me in My throne; even as I also overcame, and am set down with My Father in His throne[k]; "he that overcometh and keepeth My works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations: and he shall rule them with a rod of iron; as the vessels of a potter shall they be broken to shivers, even as I received of My Father[l]."

It may almost seem superfluous to adduce passages from the fathers to shew that they taught that angels and saints pray for us. Yet it may have its use. First, then, as to the angels. Clement of Alexandria says[m]:— "The Gnostic prays with angels, as being already the equal of angels; nor does he ever come to be out of the holy guardianship; even though he pray alone, he has the choir of the holy one standing with him." Tertullian speaks of the indecency of sitting at prayer, while the angel of prayer standeth by[n]. Origen unites the angels and the departed saints: "But not the High-Priest [our Lord] alone prays with those who pray sincerely, but also the angels who 'joy in heaven over one sinner who repenteth more than over ninety-and-nine just persons who need no repentance,' and the souls of the saints who have fallen asleep before (us)[o]." He says, "The angel of each one, even

[k] Rev. iii. 21.
[l] Ibid. ii. 26, 27.
[m] *Strom.*, vii. p. 879.
[n] *De Orat.*, 16, p. 310, Oxf. Tr.
[o] *De Orat.*, n. 11, t. i. p. 213. "It is likely that the angelic powers are present at the assemblies of the faithful, and the power of our Lord and Saviour, yea, too, of the holy spirits, and I think too, even of those who have fallen asleep before (us), and undoubtedly also of

of the little ones in the Church, both prays with us, and acts with us in those things about which we pray, wherein it is possible[p]." "If the angel of the Lord 'encamp round about them that fear him, and shall deliver them,' and Jacob speaks truly, not concerning himself only, but all besides devoted to God, saying to him that understands, 'The angel that delivered me from all evils,' it is likely that when many are assembled together sincerely unto the glory of Christ, the angel of each one 'encamps round' each of those who fear; with that man, that is, whom he has been entrusted to guard and minister to; so as to be, when the saints are assembled, a twofold Church, one of men and another of angels." "The power of Jesus

But if we long for a multitude, too, whom we wish to be friendly to us, we learn that thousands of thousands stand by Him, and ten thousand times ten thousand minister to Him, who, looking at those who imitate their piety to God as kinsmen and friends, co-operate to their salvation who call upon God and pray sincerely, appearing to [them] and thinking that they themselves ought to obey them, and as by one compact, to be present for the benefit and salvation of those who pray to God, to Whom themselves also pray. For they are all ministering spirits sent forth," &c.: and, "The one God over all we must thoroughly propitiate, and have Him propitious Whose entire good will is gained by piety and all virtues; but if he (Celsus) will have it, that certain others are to be so propitiated by us after the God over all, let him observe that as the motion of its shadow followeth the body when moved, in like way upon the propitiation of the God Who is above all it followeth, that one has all His friends, angels, and souls, and spirits, propitious; and not only do they, too, become propitious to those who are worthy, but they also co-operate with those who wish to serve the God Who is above all, and gain His favour, and comprecate, and co-petition; so that we may dare to say, that with those who deliberately prefer the better part when they pray to God, many myriads of holy powers, *uncalled*, pray with them[s]."

Origen supports his own belief by that of one of the "older masters:"—"I so deem that all those fathers

[s] *c. Cels.*, n. 64, pp. 789, 790.

who fell asleep before us fight with us and help us by their prayers. For so also did I hear one of the older masters saying[t]." He exhorts Ambrose not to fear martyrdom on account of wife and children; for by thus "becoming the friend of God, thou wilt have greater power to help them." "Then thou wilt love them with more perfect knowledge, and wilt pray for them with greater wisdom[u]." He asks, "Who doubts that all the holy fathers help us by prayers[x]," &c. And there is the passage, well known for the beauty of the thought, that since knowledge is perfected in the life to come, so also other virtues, especially love. "But one of the principal virtues, according to the Divine word, is charity towards our neighbour, which we must

teacher of me who am a child, who, being in all besides, everywhere and in all things, my bringer up, stood in charge of me of old, and now, too, rears me up and instructs me and leads me by the hand[a]." Even Eusebius says:—"How shall we give thanks (for the Death of Christ for us)? Our tongues, our mouths, suffice not, though we had a thousand. We suffice not; let us seek helpers; let angels help us; let archangels, too, give thanks with us, that they, too, may rejoice[b]." Didymus, of Alexandria:—"It is the longing of perfect men, coming to the consummation of sanctity, to become equal to the angels. For angels give aid to men, not men to angels, ministering to them salvation, and announcing to them larger benefits of God[c]." St. James, of Nisibis:—"Let not the hatred thou hast against any re-enter thy mind whilst thou prayest. Be assured that thy prayers will be left before the altar, and that he who offers prayer will not receive and raise it from the earth. For he examines thy gift, whether it be polluted. If the prayer be holy, he raises it and offers it in the sight of God. But if he find thee saying in thy prayer, 'Forgive me, I too forgive,' he that raises prayer will answer thee who prayest, 'First forgive thou thy debtor, and then I will raise thy prayer to the Lord,

[a] *Orat. Paneg. in Orig.*, n. 4, Gall. iii. 418. St. Methodius says:—"We have received, in the God-inspired writings, that these children, though born of adultery, are delivered over to guardian angels." (*Conv.*, ii. 7, Gall. iii. 682.)

[b] *De fide adv. Sabell.*, l. i., Gall. iv. 473.

[c] *De Sp. S.*, n. 7, Gall. vi. 266.

Whose debtor thou art[d].'" St. Basil:—"Of the holy spiritual powers who have their places in heaven, some are called eyes, from being intrusted to watch over us; others, ears, from receiving our prayers[e]." St. Ambrose comments on the words in the Revelations:—"which incense, the prayers of saints, is carried by an angel unto that golden altar which is before the throne of God, and glows like a sweet ointment of pious prayer[f]." St. Hilary:—"The angels of the little ones day by day see God, because the Son of Man came to 'save what was lost.' Therefore both the Son of Man saves, and angels see God and are angels of 'the little ones.' The authority is absolute that angels preside over the prayers of the faithful; wherefore an-

wrong to say, that all the Saints departed, retaining love for those who still are alive, take care of their salvation and them, by their prayers and by their intervention with God[i]." St. Cyprian suggests to St. Cornelius that whichever should first be vouchsafed martyrdom, should not cease our prayers for our brethren and sisters, in presence of the mercy of the Father; and asks the Virgins whom he exhorts to "remember him when virginity shall begin to be honoured in them [i.e. in person][j]."

Eusebius relates how the martyr Potamiæna promised to a kind soldier to beg him from her Lord, and obtained his conversion by her prayers[k]; and how Theodosia came to the confessors in bonds, "both out of kindness, and, as is likely, to ask them to remember her when they came to the Lord[l]." St. Athanasius speaks of the holy Psalmists, "who communicated the words as ministers praying with us[m];" St. Antony says "that the saints use much prayer and gladness in exultation before our Creator. The Maker, too, of all rejoices in our works, and on account of the testimony of the saints gives us immense *charismata*[n]." Nilus, an eye-witness, relates how (about A.D. 303) the Martyr St. Theodotus, just before he was beheaded, bade the weeping Christians, "weep not, but glorify our Lord Jesus, who had enabled him to finish his course. For

[i] *In Cant.* iii. t. iii. p. 75.
[j] *De hab. Virg.*, 362; *Ep.* lvii. *fin.* Ben.
[k] H. E., vi. 14.
[l] *De Martyr. Pal.*, c. 7.
[m] n. 31, t. i. p. 1001.
[n] *Epist.* v. n. 1, in Gall. iv. 666.

I shall be with confidence unceasingly interceding with God in heaven for you [o]." Eusebius himself says: —"that it is probable that holy powers and choirs of sacred angels pray with and over those who send up to God, by prayers, spiritual and pure sacrifices," as it "was probable that a choir of holy angels and men dear to God, the sacred ministers of God, prayed with David [p]." St. Cyril, of Jerusalem, says:—"that we commemorate those who have fallen asleep before us, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, that God, by their prayers and intercessions, may receive our petitions [q]." St. Hilary says:—"that apostles, patriarchs, prophets, or rather angels, with a kind of guard, fence round the Church. Good, indeed, is an angel's protection, but

St. Athanasius:—"He now, I well know, looks down from above upon our affairs, and reaches out his hand to those who toil for what is excellent, and so much the more that he is free from the bonds [of the flesh][u]." And of his mother Nonna:—"And now from heaven she greatly prays over our affairs[x]." St. Ambrose hopes that he might the sooner rejoin St. Satyrus by his intercessions[y]. St. Augustine holds that the souls of the martyrs reign with Christ. They chiefly reign, when dead, who have combated for the truth, even unto death.

St. Chrysostom ends a Lenten exhortation, "If we thus rule our lives, and, together with abstinence from meats, manifest abstinence from evil too, we, too, shall enjoy greater confidence and be admitted to a larger loving-kindness of God, both in the present life and in that coming awful day, by the prayers and intercession of those who have pleased Him, by the grace and loving-kindness of our Lord Jesus Christ, with Whom[z]," &c.

St. Asterius, a contemporary of St. Chrysostom, says:—"The freedom of speech of the martyrs accomplishes the intercession for the world; and the enemy unawares fell into the opposite of what he meant. For as many as he slew, having confessed the faith, so many succourers of men did he provide[a]."

[u] *Orat.* xxxiv. p. 620. [x] *Carm.* xciv. 5, Gall. vi. 379. 288.
[y] *De Fide Resur. carn. fin.*, t. ii. 1170.
[z] *Hom* 9, *in Gen. fin.*, t. iv. 71.
[a] *In SS. Mart. Combef. N. Auct.*, p. 192.

St. Leo nowhere uses invocations, but speaks very frequently of the value of the intercession of St. Peter and St. Paul; once, also, of St. Laurence. He appeals to his own experience and that of those before him: "But as we, too, experienced, and our ancestors have proved, we believe and are confident, amid all the toils of this life, that, to obtain the mercy of God, we shall ever be helped by the prayers of special patrons; that in proportion as we are sunk down by our own sins, we may be raised by Apostolic merits[b]." "Let us use for our amendment the lenity of Him who spares us, that blessed Peter and all the saints, who were present with us in many tribulations, may vouchsafe to aid our entreaties for you with the merciful God[c]." Of

him in the ship; and after that, being dissolved, he has begun to be with Christ, shall he then close his mouth, and be unable to utter a word for those, who throughout the world believed at his Gospel?" St. Jerome himself speaks of it as certain that some departed pray for him. He says to Heliodorus, that, when he should himself be crowned, "then wilt thou pray for me too, who spurred thee on to conquer[f];" and to Paula of Blæsilla, "she prays to the Lord for thee, and impetrates for me, (certain I am of her mind,) the pardon of my sins[g];" and to Theodora, on the death of her husband:—"He, already safe and triumphant, beholds thee from on high, and aids thee in thy efforts, and prepares thee a place near himself[h]." St. Augustine says:—"For the faithful departed, prayers are offered; for Martyrs, not: for they departed so perfect, that they are not our clients but our advocates. Nor this in themselves, but in Him, to Whom, their Head, they, perfect members, cohered. For He is truly the One Advocate, Who intercedeth for us, sitting at the right hand of the Father; but He is our One Advocate, as also our One Shepherd[i]." As, then, His character of "the Shepherd of the sheep" does not exclude others being shepherds in and under Him, so neither does His being the One Advocate preclude others being advocates, in His body, with and through Himself. Sulpicius Severus, comforting

[f] *Ep.* xiv. n. 3, *ad Heliod.*, p. 29, Vall.
[g] *Ep.* xxxix. n. 6, p. 183.
[h] *Ep.* lxxv. n. 2, *ad Theod. Vid.*, p. 448.
[i] *Serm.* 285, *in Nat. Martt. Casti et Æmil.*, n. 5, t. v. p. 1147.

a friend on the death of St. Martin, says:—"I cannot command myself not to weep. I have, indeed, sent before me a patron, but I have lost the solace of this present life, although, if grief admitted of reason, I ought to rejoice. For he is inserted among the Apostles and Prophets. He will not be wanting to us, believe me, he will not be wanting; he will be with us discoursing of him; he will stand by us praying; and what he has vouchsafed to do to-day, he will often let us see him, and protect us with his continual blessing, as he did just now[j]." Prudentius says of St. Cyprian:—"Here below he is a teacher; above, a martyr: here, he instructs men; thence, a patron, he gives loving gifts[k]." St. Maximus says "that the

the happy accomplishment of their labours:—"It was God Who worked, and the victorious Euphemia who crowned the Council by her bridal-chamber; who, receiving the definition of the faith from us as her own confession, did, through the most pious king and the Christ-loving queen, present it to her Spouse, having lulled the whole confusion of the adversaries, and strengthened the love and confession of truth, and by hand and tongue, having put the question to the votes of all for demonstration [n]." The Bishops in the Council of Tours, A.D. 461, express their hope that "the intercession of the holy and most blessed bishop, St. Martin, which is acceptable to God, will obtain, that the constitution of our humility may, by the mercy of the Lord helping, be preserved [o]."

But, further, it is equally true and equally scriptural that, in prayer to God, they pleaded to Him the acceptableness of those to whom they stood in this relation of love. Thus Moses prayed to God, after the people's sin as to the calf:—"Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, Thy servants, to whom Thou swarest by Thine own self, and saidst unto them, I will multiply your seed [p]," &c. He does not say simply, "Remember Thy promise;" but "Remember those to whom Thou didst make it." And God speaks of Himself as "keeping mercy for thousands [q];" and Jeremiah pleads to Him that His character "that shewest loving-kind-

[n] *Conc. Chalc.*, part iii. cap. 2; Labbe, tom. iv. p. 835.
[o] *Conc. Turon*, Labbe, tom. iv. p. 1052, prima paginationis serie.
[p] Exod. xxxii. 13. [q] Ib. xxxiv. 7.

ness to thousands[r]," i.e. that whereas He "visited iniquity to the third and fourth generation" only, He kept or retained His mercy to manifold more, if they would at last admit of it. And Solomon seems to have pleaded to God, "Lord remember David, and all his trouble," i.e. his laborious zeal for the House of God, and entreats Him, not for his own deserts, but "for Thy servant David's sake turn not away the face of Thine anointed[s]." And it is recorded that "for David's sake did the Lord* his God give Abijam a lamp in Jerusalem, to set up his son after him, and to establish Jerusalem; because David did right in the eyes of the Lord, and turned not aside from anything that He commanded him all the days of his life, save only in

the language, so often used of them, that they had much "boldness of speech" with Christ, as having suffered for Him. "I know," says St. Gregory of Nyssa of the forty martyrs[a], "how mighty they are, and what boldness of speech they have with God." "They," says St. Chrysostom, "have much boldness of speech, not when living only, but also having died, yea, much more, having died. For they now bear the *stigmata*[b], the marks of Christ; and, displaying those *stigmata*, they are able to persuade the King all things[c];" and "as soldiers, exhibiting wounds which they have received from the enemy, speak boldly to the king, so these [Juventinus and Maximin, martyrs,] bearing in their hands their severed heads, and bringing them in the midst, can with reason effect all they wish with the King of heaven[d]." Thus, also, Eusebius says, on Psalm lxxviii. [lxxix.:]—"We are instructed to say these things in prayers, instead of sacrifice and whole burnt offerings putting forward the blood of the holy martyrs, and sending up such supplications as these. We, indeed, have not been held worthy to strive unto death, nor to empty out our blood for God; but since we are the sons of those who suffered these things, glorying in our fathers' virtue, we beseech to be compassionated for their sakes[e];" and, at the close of his commentary on Isaiah:—"Of which (heavenly con-

[a] *Orat. in* xl. *Mart.*, Opp. ii. 211. [b] Gal. vi. 17.
[c] *Hom. de SS. Bernice et Prosdoce fin.*, Opp. ii. 645.
[d] *In Juvent. et Maxim. fin.*, Opp. ii. 583.
[e] *Montf. Nov. Coll.*, i. 486, 487.

templation) may we, too, be deemed worthy by the merits and intercessions of all the saints[f]." And St. Gregory of Nazianzum:—"May my affairs be conducted how God wills; may they, by his [St. Basil's] intercessions, be conducted better[g]." And St. Gregory of Nyssa:—"May we, too, [as well as the forty martyrs,] enter Paradise, having been strengthened through their intercession unto the good confession of our Lord Jesus Christ; to Whom[h]," &c. And St. Ambrose to his brother:—"That this favour [a speedy reunion] may be conferred on me by thy intercessions, that thou mayest summon me, who long to join thee, more speedily[i]." St. Chrysostom closes his homily on St. Pelagia:—"May it be by the prayers of this holy

if we ourselves are remiss, and place the hope of our deliverance on them alone, we shall gain nothing. Not because the righteous are weak, but because we betray ourselves by our own remissness." Then, having contrasted God's forbidding Jeremiah to pray for Israel when obstinate in sin, he says, "knowing this, beloved, let us flee to the intercession of the saints, and exhort them to beseech for us; but let us not rely on their supplications alone, but let us also order, as is meet, our part, and hold fast to amendment of life; that we may give room for their intercession for us." He closes his oration on St. Meletius: — "Let us all pray in common, rulers and ruled, women and men, old and young, slaves and free, taking the blessed Meletius as sharer of this prayer, (for he has greater freedom of speech now, and his love to us is more glowing,) that this love may be increased, and that it be vouchsafed to us all, as we are now near this urn, so there, too, we may be near his everlasting tabernacles, and obtain the goods laid up there[m];" and, "Taking the holy martyrs as partakers of our prayers, let us pray for length of her [the empress's] life, cheerful old age, sons and sons' sons, and, above all these, that this zeal may be heightened, piety increased[n]," &c.

There remains the question,—"Apart from the prayer

[m] *Hom. in S. Melet. fin.*, Opp. ii. 523.

[n] *Hom.* ii. *ex* xi. *fin.*, Opp. xii. 334; "preached before the Empress and the whole city and magistrates, in the Martyrium, three miles from the city, after she had translated thither the relics of the martyrs at midnight."

to God to grant favours at the intercession of such or such a martyr or saint; apart also from those instances of rhetorical apostrophe with such expressions as εἴ τις αἴσθησις, taken evidently from the form of the heathen rhetoricians; — did the early Church think it right directly to ask the saints to use those intercessions, in whose efficacy they believed?" It is true that no instance can be quoted before the Council of Nicæa, except the case related by St. Gregory Nazianzen, out of Acts undoubtedly apocryphal, how Justina, fleeing the assault of Cyprian the magician, (whom those Acts confounded with the great African father and martyr before his conversion,) "abandoning all other hope, fled to God for refuge, and took as her defender

gation, which praises thy memory, be blessed by thy prayers; that thy people may rejoice in the (heavenly) chamber, and may say, Praise to Him Who chose thee[p]." And for a monk, for the forgiveness of whose sins he afterwards prays:—"Pray to and supplicate God for the congregation of thy beloved, that He would reward their tears, which they have shed for thee. Supplicate Him Who heareth thee, that He would forgive them their sins; raise up thy hand over thy congregation, which beareth thy corpse with honour, and bless it as thou wert wont in the name of the holy God; for very loved and precious is the prayer of the hour of departure. Remember the holy Church, and recall it in the general assembly; for as a mother she buried thee, and as a sister she honoured thy death[q]." These, however, are not invocations of saints, but mutual deprecations. In another, the congregation says:—"Pray and beseech for all of us, that we may be worthy to behold thee in the (heavenly) courts, and with thee may rejoice and be glad[r]." There is also a short prayer:—"Apostles twelve, intercede for me; prophets and martyrs, entreat for me[s]:" and, "Martyrs, who endured resolutely, afflictions cheerfully, and received crowns perfectly, as is meet, justly, supplicate with us[t] conjointly, to Christ lordlily, that He would shew mercies abundantly, upon us all unceasingly."

[p] *Can.* 1, Opp. Syr. iii. 227.
[q] *Can.* 16, p. 259.
[r] *Can.* 15 *fin.*, p. 255.
[s] *Paræn. ad pœnit.*, 33, *fin.*, ib., p. 486.
[t] Not "for us," as Ass. l. c.

St. Damasus, in his poems, says to a martyr:—"Now dweller with the Lord, who guardest the altars of Christ, I pray thee to favour the prayers of Damasus, illustrious martyr[u]." St. Gregory of Nyssa asks the martyr, St. Theodore:—"Intercede with our common King for thy country, for the martyr's country is the place of his passion. We anticipate afflictions; we expect danger; not far off are the wicked Scythians, in pangs with war against us. As a soldier fight for us; as a martyr use boldness of speech for thy fellow-servants. Ask for peace, that these public assemblies may not cease. That we have been preserved unharmed, to thee we ascribe the benefit; but we ask for safety in the future too. If there be need of greater

holy flock; and, directing the rest, as far as may be, for the best, and driving away the grievous wolves, the hunters of syllables and phrases, and bestowing on us a more perfect and bright illumination of the Holy Trinity, by Whom thou standest, Whom we worship [z]," &c. And to St. Basil:—"Do thou, divine and sacred one, look down upon us, and by thy intercessions either stay the thorn of the flesh, given us by God, our discipline, or persuade us to endure it bravely, and direct our whole life for us for the best; and if we be removed thence, receive us in thy tabernacles, that, living together and together beholding the holy and blessed Trinity [a]," &c. St. Ambrose says:—"Angels are to be besought for us, who were given to us as a guard; martyrs are to be besought, whose patronage we seem to claim for ourselves by the pledge of the body. They can ask for our sins, who washed whatever sins they had with their own blood. For they are God's martyrs, our presiders, the surveyors of our life and actions. Be we not ashamed to employ them as intercessors for our infirmity, who knew the infirmity of the body even when they overcame [b]."

St. Chrysostom says to the people:—"Thou, then, when thou perceivest that God is chastening thee, fly not to his enemies the Jews, lest thou kindle His wrath the more against thee, but to His friends the

[z] *Orat.* 24, *fin.*, p. 450.

[a] *Or.* 43, *fin.*, p. 832. He also asks his father and mother, "Save me now, too, by mighty supplications." *Carm.* 97.

[b] *De Viduis*, c. 9, t. ii. p. 200.

martyrs, the holy and well-pleasing unto Him, who have also much freedom of speech [towards Him] [c]."

St. Jerome says to St. Paula:—"Help with thy prayers the extreme old age of thy devotee. Thy faith and works associate thee with Christ; present, thou wilt obtain more easily what thou askest [d]." St. Chrysostom exhorts the people:—"Not on this festival only, but on other days too, let us be at their side, let us invoke them; let us beg them to be our patronesses [e]" [S. Bernice and Prosdoce]. "Since they have such power and friendship with God, let us, making ourselves their familiars by constant attention and coming to them continually, draw on us, through them, the loving-kindness of God."

the miracles very commonly dwelt upon was the casting out of devils. But if it were ever so much, that these persons who spoke as demoniacs, persons possessed, were simple maniacs, still the maniacs were healed. Were it ever so much, that, in some cases, the body was healed through the mind, this would leave a large residue, in which any mind, open to evidence, must acknowledge "the finger of God." St. Augustine says:—"If, to omit others, I would write the miracles of healing alone, which were wrought through this martyr, the glorious Stephen, in the colony of Calama and in ours, many books must be written. And yet all cannot be gathered in one, but those only, of which accounts have been sent in, to be recited before the people. For this we had done, seeing that Divine miracles, like those of old, were multiplied in our times, and that this ought not to be lost to the knowledge of many[h]." "Many know how great miracles take place in that city (Ancona) through the most blessed martyr Stephen[i]." "At Uzalis, where my brother Euodius is Bishop, how many miracles take place, seek and ye will find[k]." One which he guarantees, was the temporary restoration of an infant, who had died unbaptized, that it might be baptized[l]. He is careful to say that all was

[h] *De Civ. Dei*, xxii. 8.

[i] *Serm.* 323, *post libell. de S. Steph.*, n. 2.

[k] Ibid., n. 3.

[l] *Serm.* 324: "The mother said, 'Holy martyr, thou seest I have no solace.—Thou knowest why I mourn. Restore me my son, that I may have him in the presence of Him who crowned thee.' The child revived, was baptized, and, all the sacraments now completed, was taken.

done by Christ:—"Ye who know how to love Stephen, love him in Christ.—Do we read, or can we read any where in sound doctrine, that Jesus did or doth miracles through the name of Stephen. Stephen did them, but by the name of Christ [m]. This he doth now, too. Whatever ye see done through the memorial of Stephen, it is done in the name of Christ, that Christ may be extolled, Christ adored, Christ expected as Judge of quick and dead [n]."

St. Gregory of Nyssa says:—"I placed the bodies of my parents near the reliques of the [forty] soldiers, that, at the time of the resurrection, they may be raised with those who have noble freedom of speech. For I know how mighty they are, and I have seen the

Where two or three are gathered together in the name of the Lord, there is He in the midst of them; and where forty are, who doubts of God's presence? The afflicted flies unto the forty, the gladdened runs unto them; the former to find escape from his troubles; the latter, that his prosperity may be preserved. Thus a pious woman is found praying for her children, asking a return for her husband when absent, health for him when sick. Let your prayers be with martyrs[p]." In regard to the martyr St. Mamas, he speaks more definitely:—"Remember for me the martyr, all who have benefited by him through dreams; all who lighting on this holy place, had him as co-operator to prayer; all to whom, called by name, he has stood by in their deeds; all whom he has raised from sickness; all to whom he has given back sons, when now dead; all to whom he lengthened the appointed term of life. Bring them all together; form a panegyric from the common contribution[q]." St. Gregory Nazianzen tells the Emperor Julian, "By them [the martyrs] devils are driven out and diseases cured[r]." St. Chrysostom says of the Egyptian martyrs:—"Many, both of the natives and of those who have come from elsewhere, know how great the power of these saints, who also bear witness to what I say, having learned through the experience itself, their free access to God[s]."

St. Asterius, Bishop of Amasea, relates:—"Those op-

[p] *Hom. in* xl. *Mart.*, n. i. t. ii. pp. 209, 210. [q] *Hom. in Mam. Mart.*, n. i. t. ii. pp. 259, 260. [r] *Orat.* 4, n. 69, p. 108.
[s] Opp. ii. 700.

pressed by calamities incidental to man hasten, as to an asylum, to those places, where those thrice-blessed rest, and employ them as legates and mediators of their prayers and requests, on account of their boundless confidence with God; thence the poor are solaced;—the sacred temples of the martyrs are tranquil harbours amidst all tumults and storms of life. Thus father or mother taking the sick child—having come to any of the martyrs, through him offer up a prayer to the Lord, saying to her mediator, 'Thou hast suffered for Christ, intercede for one who suffers and is ill. Having freedom of speech, use it for thy fellow-servant[t].' "

Even Vigilantius appears to have admitted the fact of the miracles; for he argued about them:—"He

Prudentius says to St. Laurence:—"What power is entrusted, what gifts granted, the joys of the Romans prove, to whom, asked, thou assentest. What every supplicant asketh, he beareth off obtained prosperously; they ask, are enriched, tell, and no one returns sad[y]."

Yet more remarkable are the statements of Theodoret, both as being himself of a dry matter-of-fact mind, and in regard to the extent of the facts which he states. For, in refuting Heathenism, he is contrasting the martyrs with all which the heathen held great, gods or men:—"Time, which withereth all things, hath preserved their glory unwithered. For the noble souls of the victorious (martyrs) traverse heaven, forming part of the incorporeal chorus, but their bodies—it is not a single tomb that conceals each one of them, but cities and villages, having shared them between them, style them the Preservers both of soul and body, and healers, and honour them as tutelars and guardians: and, employing them as intercessors with the Lord of all, by these means obtain divine gifts. And when the body is severed, the grace remains unsevered. And that small and tiniest relic hath the same power with the martyr who hath never been distributed. For the grace abounding distributeth the gifts[z]." "These are truly leaders, and champions and succourers of men, averters of evils, conducting away the injuries brought by demons[a]." "Those who were distinguished for piety, and were slain for it, we call

[y] *Perist.*, ii. 561—568. [z] *Græc. aff. cur.*, viii. t. iv. p. 902, Sch.
[a] Ibid., p. 912.

averters of evil and physicians, friends of God and benevolent servants, using freedom of speech, and announcing to us the harvest of good [b]."

"But the shrines of the martyrs glorious in their victory, are grand, magnificent, and conspicuous in size, and manifoldly adorned, and sending forth flashes of beauty. And to these, not once or twice in the year, nor even five times do we go, but ofttimes we hold solemn assemblies, and often every day offer hymns to their Lord; and they who are in health beg for the preservation of their health; they that are wrestling with any sickness ask a riddance from their sufferings; the childless men ask for offspring, and the barren women for children. And they who have gained this

ings, whereby they are placed as memorials by those who have become whole. And these things proclaim the power of those buried there; and their power shews that their God is the true God[c]."

We have already seen St. Augustine, before his people, carefully referring to Christ the miracles done at the intercession of the martyrs. He does the same, in answer to the allegations of the heathen; that "their gods, too, had done some marvels" [the fables of a legendary antiquity]. He says that neither did the facts bear comparison, nor the ends for which they were done. For that the end of those things had been to obtain worship for creatures; "but the martyrs do these things, or rather God doth them, they either praying or co-operating, to the advancement of that faith whereby we believe that they are not our gods, but have one God with us. Lastly, they [heathen] both built temples and set up altars, and made priests and offered sacrifices to such gods of theirs; we build not to our martyrs temples as to gods, but memorials as to dead men, whose spirits live to God; and we erect altars therein, not to sacrifice to martyrs, but to the One God of the martyrs and of ourselves; at which Sacrifice, as men of God, who, in confessing Him, overcame the world, they are named in their place and order, yet are not invoked by the priest who sacrifices. For he sacrifices to God, not to them, although he sacrifices in their memorials; for he is God's priest, not theirs. But the sacrifice itself is the Body of Christ, which is

[c] Ibid., pp. 921, 922.

not offered to them, because they, too, are it [viz. Christ's mystical Body]." He draws out more scientifically the contrast between the cultus done to Almighty God and that shewn to the martyrs (which, he says, was the same *in kind* as that to holy men on earth). In his celebrated treatise against Faustus the Manichean, who charged the Church with having made an exchange for idols in the cultus of the martyrs, he says: — "The Christian people unite in celebrating with religious solemnity the memories of the martyrs, both to excite to an imitation of them, and to be associated with their merits and aided by their prayers; yet so, that to none of the martyrs, but to the God Himself of the Martyrs, although in places

who are already conquerors in a happier life, than those who are still warring here below. But with that worship, which, in Greek, is called 'latria,' in Latin it cannot be expressed by one word, as it is a kind of service due and appropriate to the Divinity alone, we neither worship nor teach to worship other than the One God. But whereas to this worship appertains the oblation of sacrifice (whence *their* worship, who give this to idols, is called *idolatry*), we do not anywise offer, or teach to be offered anything of this kind, either to any martyr, to any holy soul, or to any angel; and whosoever falls into this error he is reproved by the sound teaching, either that he may amend or be avoided [d]."

And St. Jerome: — "Madman, who ever adored martyrs? Who thought man to be God [e]?"

And St. Cyril, of Alexandria, in answer to Julian: —"The holy martyrs we neither say are gods, nor are we wont to worship them, viz., with Divine worship, but

[d] *c. Faust*, xx., 21. And again:—"Even at the memorials of the holy martyrs, do we not offer to God? The holy martyrs have an honourable place. Observe. In the recital at the altar of Christ, they are recited in a better place; yet they are not adored as Christ; whence their act who offer this too to idols is called *idolatry*. When heard ye it said by any other my brother and colleague, or any Presbyter, 'I offer to thee, holy Theogenis, or I offer to thee, Peter, I offer to thee, Paul.' Never have ye heard. It is not, it may not be. If it be said to thee, 'Dost thou worship Peter?' answer what Eulogius [the deacon] said [to the heathen judge] of Fructuosus [his bishop, whose martyrdom he shared], 'I do not worship Peter, but God I worship, whom Peter too worships. Then Peter loves thee.'"—*Serm.* 273, *in Nat. Fruct. Aug. Eulog.*, n. 7. t. v. 1108.

[e] *c. Vigil.*, n. 5, t. ii. 391, Vall.

relatively and honorifically. But rather we crown them with the highest honours, as having striven nobly for the truth [r]."

St. Asterius, of Amasea, in like manner, says to the heathen:—"*We* worship not martyrs, but we honour them, as sincere worshippers of God. We do not worship men, but we admire those who, in time of persecution, nobly worshipped God. We deposit them in beautiful shrines, and the houses of their repose we raise magnificent in structure, that we may zealously honour men who died gloriously. But we shew them not an unrequited zeal, but enjoy their patronage toward God. For since our prayer suffices not to importune God in time of necessity and calamity: for our

give and had found it, we could have nothing, in principle, to except against it, if only those errors be guarded against, to which our poor nature is so easily inclined, of betaking ourselves to the saints, as to beings less holy, less awful, whom the soul ever approaches with less effort and less fear than Him, Who, being our Mediator, will also be our Judge. The Council of Trent itself desired that "all superstition in the invocation of saints should be removed." A learned writer said, "Many Christians sin for the most part in a thing which is good, in that they venerate the saints no otherwise than God. Nor, in many, do I see what difference there is between their opinion of the saints, and what the Gentiles thought of their gods[h]."

This is precisely what our homily (which illustrates this Article) excepts against, when, having spoken of the conduct of Paul and Barnabas at Lystra, and the monition of the angel in the Revelations to St. John, it sums up, "which examples declare unto us that the angels and saints in heaven will not have us to do any honour unto them, *that is due and proper unto God*[i]."

On the other side, Bellarmine, in treating on this subject, lays down formally these propositions[k]: "(1.) We may not ask the saints, that they, as authors of the Divine benefits, would grant us glory or grace, and other means to beatitude. (2.) Saints are not our imme-

[h] *Lud. Vives on S. Aug. de Civ. D.*, viii. *ult.*, quoted by Bp. W. Forbes' *Consid. Mod.*, t. ii. p. 310.

[i] Homily on Prayer, p. 277.

[k] *De Sanct. Beat.* i. 17.

diate intercessors with God, but whatever they impetrate for us from God, they impetrate through Christ." The first statement he proves (1.) from Holy Scripture:—"The Lord will give grace and glory;" and St. James, "Every good gift and every perfect gift cometh down from the Father of lights:" (2.) From the usage of the Church; for in the prayers read at mass, or in the office on the festival of the saints, we never ask anything else but that, at their prayers, benefits may be granted to us by God. (3.) From reason; for what we need surpasses the powers of the creature, and therefore even of saints; therefore we ought to ask nothing of saints beyond their impetrating from God what is profitable for us. (4.) From Augustine and

we testify that He is the Author of our good things; but not to those to whom we resort as our advocates with God[l]."

In principle, then, there is no question, herein, between us and any other portion of the Catholic Church. Even where the incommunicable attributes of God have, in expression at least, been invaded, the real underlying belief has been explained to be, that nothing is obtained for man, no grace, no aid, no gift for body, soul, or spirit, except through or from the One Mediator between God and Man, our adorable Lord, Christ Jesus. Prayer to the saints in heaven is explained, again and again, to be the same *in kind* as the prayers to the saints on earth; as St. Augustine speaks of the cultus of the saints in heaven being the same in kind as the cultus of saints on earth. "Since the mediation of the saints is not invoked like that of Christ, since their mediation is held to be only one of intercession not of redemption, since the effectualness of their intercession rests on God's free mercy and the merits of Christ, then the honour of Christ and the aloneness of His redemption is not in the least intrenched upon. If the intercession of believers on earth may be invoked, without injury to the honour of Christ as Mediator, why not also the intercession of the saints in heaven[m]?" Had this been

[l] 2. 2. q. 83, art. 4, ad 1.

[m] Klee, *Kath. Dogmatik.*, iii. 407, 408, ed. 3. "It is good and useful to apply to the saints for intercession and help. They are, namely, friends and beloved of God, whose intercession is effectual, and they being, by reason of their love, inclined to help us, then it is also praiseworthy and beneficial to apply for their intercession, *as for that of*

all, the Article never could have been written. Not our own Divines only, but foreign reformers, too, have seen nothing herein to reject[n]. The Church of Rome has not stated the practice to be necessary to salvation, nor required it of any, so that he deny not that, as above explained, it is in itself good and useful. The more this aspect is dwelt upon, the more we shall be disposed to accept the conclusion of a pious Divine:— "Let God alone be religiously adored; let Him alone be prayed to through Christ, Who, truly and properly speaking, is the sole and only Mediator between God and man. Let not that most ancient custom, common in the universal Church, as well Greek as Latin, of addressing angels and saints in the way we have

ARTICLE XXIII.

De Vocatione Ministrorum.

(*al.* De Ministrando in Ecclesia.)

Non liçet cuiquam sumere sibi munus publice prædicandi, aut administrandi Sacramenta in Ecclesia, nisi prius fuerit ad hæc obeunda legitime vocatus et missus. Atque illos legitime vocatos et missos existimare debemus, qui per homines, quibus potestas vocandi ministros, atque mittendi in vineam Domini, publice concessa est in Ecclesia, cooptati fuerint et adsciti in hoc opus.

"Of Ministering in the Congregation.

"It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, or ministering the sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given unto them in the congregation, to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard."

The Article here treats of what is technically called Mission[a]. That the clergy should have such mission is affirmed, not only by implication in such terms as describe them as stewards and ambassadors, but also

[a] Vide S. Pacian, Ep. i. 12, Oxf. Tr. 325, 326.

in so many terms by St. Paul [b], where, in a beautiful anti-climax, he describes the order whereby men arrive at righteousness and salvation. First comes the mission of the preachers; then the actual preaching of the Gospel; then the faith of the hearers; then their worship and calling upon God; lastly, salvation in this life from the disease of sin, hereafter from death and corruption in glory everlasting. "Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved." "How shall they call on Him in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe on Him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher? and how shall they preach unless they be sent? (ἀποσταλῶσι) except they be Apostles?"

back to Him, Who is the Apostle and High Priest of our Profession, as receiving mission from the Father, for the purpose of transmitting it fresh to the twelve, in whom He lodged all power and authority. The title of Apostle was not confined to the twelve. Barnabas and Paul are first assumed into the holy band to the violation of the mystic number of twelve completed by Matthias. Epaphroditus[c] is termed by St. Paul "my brother, and companion in labour, and fellow soldier, but your apostle," (*ἀπόστολον*). In the Corinthians, not only does he recognise the existence of Apostles—first in their capacity of recipients of supernatural gifts—"He gave some Apostles," but we find certain of his brethren recognised as "Apostles of Churches, a glory of Christ," (*ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν, δόξα Χριστοῦ,*) where their office and dignity is happily recognised in one pregnant sentence. Again, in Rom. xvi. 7, Andronicus and Junia are said to be "of note among the Apostles."

Meanwhile the discontent of the Hellenistic Jews, who thought that their widows were neglected in the distribution of alms, had evoked the institution of the diaconate, and wherever the Apostles established a Church, they ordained men who in the Jewish communities were called "elders," in the Gentile Churches "overseers." The first title was one associated with notions of great dignity among the Jews, as there were elders in the Sanhedrin, assessors to the chief priests and scribes, and every synagogue had a chief or pre-

[c] Phil. ii. 25.

sident. The title 'overseer' or 'bishop,' occurs in the Alexandrian version in the sense of an ecclesiastical and civil officer. Thus there are three orders in the Church, —apostles, overseers or elders, and deacons.

But only a part of the Apostolic office was to be transmitted, and such part as was transmitted had to be regulated. It was impossible that the solidarity of their power should continue, and there were certain prophetical powers which in the purpose of God and in the nature of things must cease. Accordingly before the close of the Canon of Scripture, we find a certain monarchical power establishing itself in each Church. St. James exercised what we should now call episcopal jurisdiction over the city of Jerusalem; and the seven

and parallel of the hierarchy of the old law. By the time of St. Ignatius, we find the title of Apostle dropped, out of reverence to those who first bore it; the name of Overseer apportioned to the apostolic office, and thus separated from the presbyteral; in this way the three orders are still maintained in their integral distinction. Nor is this the mere local usage of the Churches of Asia Minor. We have distinct evidence, at the end of the second century, that this hierarchical constitution prevailed universally, without any known exception, throughout the whole of Christendom. "The episcopate was a whole in which each enjoys possession in solidarity." All over the earth, from India to Spain, the episcopate was a definite organization. It is impossible to account for this hierarchical uniformity without pre-supposing an original Divine institution. If we consider the difficulty of the transmission of intelligence, the rarity of the occasions of communication, the deep-rooted ethnical peculiarities of the varying tribes which were converted to Christianity, we can in no way account for it save on the supposition of the threefold ministry being a part of the original constitution of the Christian Church.

No new form could thus have established itself universally without exciting some opposition; of that opposition there is no trace in any of the earlier records. In the fifth century, indeed, we find the existence of opposition on the part of Aerius and Vigilantius, but this opposition actually tests the universality of the organization. It was left to the religious exigencies of the

foreign Reformers to frame, first, a theory of the non-necessity of bishops; and then, to erect the platform of their polity without reference to them. By some, indeed, the new constitution was justified only on the plea of absolute necessity. Calvin regretted this imagined necessity.

The gravity of the matter consists in this. That while we are not in any way to limit the mercy of God, and therefore can understand that in exceptional circumstances, exceptional conditions of things may be allowed; yet, in the course of the guidance of the Church, it is a truth universally accepted by all who have any pretensions to be sound theologians, that the validity of certain rites depends upon Epi-

ARTICLE XXIV.

De Precibus Publicis Dicendis in Lingua Vulgari.

(*al.* De Loquendo in Ecclesia Lingua quam Populus intelligit.)

Lingua populo non intellecta, publicas in ecclesia preces peragere aut Sacramenta administrare, verbo Dei et primitivæ Ecclesiæ consuetudini plane repugnat.

"*Of Speaking in the Congregation in such a Tongue as the People understandeth.*

"It is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the custom of the primitive Church, to have public prayer in the church, or to minister the Sacraments, in a tongue not understanded of the people."

It seems strange that, considering what divine service is, it should have been necessary to ordain that it should be in the language of the worshipper. Bearing in mind that one great part of oral prayer is the elevation of the soul to God, one would hardly imagine that the greater part of the Christian Church should deem it right to offer it in a tongue not understanded of the people. There must be some reason for what is rightly declared in the Article to be "plainly repugnant to the Word of God and the custom of the primitive Church."

And that this custom is thus repugnant, is manifest from the text of St. Paul, "Yet in the church I had rather speak five words to the edifying of the hearers, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue[a]." So also, "Else when thou shalt bless with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at the giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest[b]?" Again, positively, we are told, "I will pray with my spirit, and I will pray with my understanding also." God's service is a reasonable service, λογικὴν λατρείαν ὑμῶν, a service in which the λόγος is concerned.

Though we have no trace of it remaining, except the 'Kyrie Eleison' before the Lord's Prayer, and the

supposing that the services were in any other language than the vernacular of each region.

Martene says[c], "Although the modern use of the Church is that the mass shall only be celebrated in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, and the reasons for proscribing the mother tongue are sufficient, yet it was not so in the beginning." In support of this he quotes the story of St. Anthony the Abbot, told by St. Athanasius, who, knowing nothing but the Egyptian idiom, entered the church, and hearing the Gospel read in which it is enjoined to sell all, straightway went and did so. Still more to the purpose is the history of the life of St. Theodosius the Archimandrite, who built in his monastery four churches, one for the Greeks, one for the *Bessi*, a third for the Armenians, and a fourth for those beset with evil spirits; so that it happened that they all (except the beset) carried on the services in their own tongues, so far as the Gospel, and then joined together in the great Greek Church, and hereupon were made partakers of the Divine mysteries.

A similar fact is narrated by Cyrillus Scythopolitanus, in his life of St. Saba.

In the ninth century, when the Slaves were converted to Christianity by St. Methodius, John VIII. highly praised their performing the service in the Slavonic tongue[d]. He, however, adds, that for the honour of Divine worship, the Gospel is to be read first in Latin and then translated, and if the Count and his

[c] *De Antiq. Eccl. Nat.*, lib. i. cap. iii. art. ii. tom. i. p. 101.

[d] *Ep.* 247. to Sfentopulcher, Count of Moravia.

judges like to hear it read in Latin they may do so. Before this, Methodius had introduced the vernacular among the Pannonians, with the consent of Pope John; but Gregory VII. forbad it when writing to Vratisloff, Duke of Bohemia. All the Slaves still use the Slavonic, and not only the schismatical communities in the East [e], but those in communion with the Latins, as the Maronites, who use Arabic or Chaldaic, worship in their own language.

It is unnecessary to allude to those mixed rites, where Latin was used in the East, and Greek in the West, sometimes to typify intercommunion, sometimes to meet the case of alien populations, as was specially common in Magna Græcia. A still more interesting question

the West. But we know nothing of a Gothic Liturgy. It is true the Church hymns, e.g. the *Te Deum*, were rendered into German, as well as the Epistles and Gospels, in the ninth century; and by the Council of Leptines, A.D. 743, certain parts of the Baptismal Service were appointed to be in the German language[g]. Still there was always a tendency to enforce the Latin language in the West. As the fresh tribes from the north were evangelized by the Roman clergy, it was natural that the Roman clergy should employ and recommend the rites to which they had been accustomed. It became the measure of the solidity of the conversion that the Latin tongue was accepted. It was also a great means for the consolidation of the Church's power. Even in the Celtic tribes of Ireland and Scotland the mass, though not the rubrics and hymns, was always in Latin; and whatever may have been the polity and nationality of the race who first raised to heaven the prayers of the Mozarabic Rite, that glorious formulary speaks to God in the language of the Romans.

The Eastern Church did not take this exclusive line. Wedded as that Church has ever been to tradition, it freely allowed of the translation of the Euchologia and Liturgies. The great Slave races, who received their knowledge of Christ from the East, as we have seen, were freely allowed their Slavonic services. The Armenians and Georgians, Cophts and Syrians, were all allowed to worship God in a tongue which they understood. Time, of course, has told on this arrange-

[g] Labbe and Cossart, *Conc.*, tom. viii. p. 278.

ment. The language of daily use has altered, while the Church language has remained as it was, so that now over the greater part of the Christian world the ignorant among the worshippers imperfectly understand what is said in church.

In extenuation of this state of things, it is urged 1. that it would be impossible to be eternally altering the service to suit the alterations of the language of common life; 2. that more is gained by the reverence which an ancient form inspires than is lost by a partial ignorance of it; 3. that in fact, by means of translation and explanation, the great mass of the faithful do adhibit a rational attention to the sense of that in

ARTICLE XXV.

De Sacramentis.

Sacramenta a Christo instituta, non tantum sunt notæ professionis Christianorum, sed certa quædam potius testimonia et efficacia signa gratiæ atque bonæ in nos voluntatis Dei, per quæ invisibiliter ipse in no[bi]s operatur, nostramque fidem in se non solum excitat, verum etiam confirmat.

Duo a Christo Domino nostro in Evangelio instituta sunt Sacramenta: scilicet, Baptismus, et Cœna Domini.

Quinque illa vulgo nominata Sacramenta, scilicet, confirmatio, pœnitentia, ordo, matrimonium, et extrema unctio, pro Sacramentis Evangelicis habenda non sunt, ut quæ, partim a prava Apostolorum imitatione profluxerunt, partim vitæ status sunt in Scripturis quidem probati, sed sacramentorum eandem cum Baptismo et Cœna Domini rationem non habentes, ut quæ signum aliquod visibile, seu cæremoniam, a Deo institutam, non habeant.

Sacramenta non in hoc instituta sunt a Christo ut spectarentur, aut circumferrentur, sed ut rite illis uteremur; et in his duntaxat qui digne percipiunt, salutarem habent effectum. Qui vero indigne percipiunt, damnationem (ut inquit Paulus) sibi ipsis acquirunt.

Of the Sacraments.

"Sacraments ordained of Christ, be not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession, but rather they be certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace

and God's good-will towards us, by the which He doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in Him.

"There are two Sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel, that is to say, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord.

"Those five commonly called Sacraments, that is to say, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and extreme Unction, are not to be counted Sacraments of the Gospel, being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the Scriptures: but yet have not like nature of Sacraments with Baptism and the Lord's Supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.

inadequate. They reduced the Sacraments to tokens of a covenant between God and man, to pledges of the truth of the divine promises for the forgiveness of sins, to means of assurance that the debt of the sins of the faithful receiver is remitted, and of peace to comfort and console him. All this springs from the one-sided conceptions of the justification of man before God. The effects of the Sacraments were confined to the subjective acts of the individual at the moment of reception. In fact, the objective character of the means of grace was lost. Luther's variations were endless. His permanent belief was, that they were a sort of visible preaching to kindle faith. But the Confession of Augsburg is not even fairly orthodox on this point.

Calvin's teaching was in most respects similar to that of Luther, but he carefully points out all the parts of what is understood by a Sacrament, and recommends, with much urgency, its use, but then he divorces the inward grace from the outward sign. This is the necessary result of his theory of election. If it is only to the elect that God's grace is tendered, the rest being passed over by God, it follows that grace is by no means necessarily connected with the outward sign. Hence, in Baptism, those who are not elected are only outwardly washed, and in the Lord's Supper receive mere bread and wine. According to him, Sacraments are merely obsignatory.

Having thus cleared the way to a definition, the Article goes on to state that Sacraments ordained by

Christ are "certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace and God's good-will towards us, by the which He doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but strengthen and confirm our faith in Him." Observe the singular strength of these words, in comparison with those of the Confession of Augsburg: "Sacraments are the signs and testimonies of God's good-will towards us, bestowed for exciting and confirming the faith of those who use them." Again, we call Sacraments rites, which have the commandment of God, and to which is added the promise of grace. Our Article makes five assertions with regard to them: they are—1. sure witnesses of grace, and God's good-will towards us; 2. effectual signs of grace, and God's

dispensation, employed outward signs, and wonders, and tokens, to strengthen the trust of the Jews in the divine assurance, as in the words of Deut. vi. 20, "And when thy son asketh thee in time to come, saying, What mean the testimonies, and the statutes, and the judgments, which the Lord our God hath commanded you?" so our blessed Lord, the new Moses, the Legislator of a better covenant, instituted these rites as pledges of the forgiveness of sin, of the bestowal of grace, of communion with God. A pledge to assure us of the inward and spiritual grace given to us, is a necessary part of the definition. But this is not all.

2. The Article says further, that a Sacrament is an effectual sign of God's grace. It not only typifies, it conveys. It is not a bare sign, but an effectual sign, a sign that carries its effect along with it. It is the means whereby we receive the same grace, of which it is the outward visible sign.

3. By Sacraments God works invisibly in us. All grace flows from the Humanity of Jesus Christ, and the Sacraments are main channels whereby that grace flows into the soul. Christ is the chief and principal worker in all Sacraments, as a function of His everlasting priesthood. They work in us by means of the institution of Christ. He has merited for us all things necessary to salvation, and these are freely bestowed upon us by God, if our free-wills only consent to receive them. This consent to receive grace, in other words expresses itself as repentance and faith. Re-

pentance and faith make us susceptible of the grace of the Sacrament, which thus abide in the Absolute and the Objective.

4. Sacraments quicken or give life to faith. In the old rituals, the service of Baptism begins with this question to the sponsor in the name of the candidate, What seekest thou of the Church? and the answer is, Faith.

5. Sacraments strengthen and confirm faith. As a means of grace, they strengthen the whole soul, increase its spiritual capacities both as to the intellectual and the moral part of man's being, and therefore intimately affect the faith, which, though dwelling in the intellectual part of the soul, is intimately in-

sentence the stress is on the words, "were not ordained of Christ to be," &c. The Article does not say, that the things spoken of may not be done, but that they were not *the* objects for which Christ ordained them. Had they been, they could not have been laid aside without sin. Being of ecclesiastical, not of Divine institution, they were mutable, not immutable. What it affirms is strictly historically true. By carrying the Sacraments about, we are probably to understand the Procession of the *Corpus Domini*. No person in his senses would say that this was ordained of Christ, but, though not actually ordained of Christ, the practice is not necessarily sinful, nay, if ordered by the Church, in accordance with His will, permissible and edifying. If "gazing" be supposed to imply assisting at the Eucharistic celebration without communicating, it must be recollected that from the very beginning, the penitents called *consistentes* were required to be present without communicating; and as love waxed cold, the Church thought it better that men should be present at the great Eucharistic Service without communion, rather than turn their backs upon the holy mysteries. But it was distinctly an accommodation to weakness in the beginning, and the normal order of the Church is still, that all present should be in a fit state to participate in the holy mysteries, and actually do so[a].

As regards the circumgestation of the blessed Sa-

[a] Both the Articles and Council of Trent agree in considering that vate masses are the result of the coldness of Christians. Both con- un it, but both have failed in enforcing universal participation.

crament. From the beginning of the third century we have evidence of its being reserved in the Church. It was sometimes carried home by the faithful for private communion, but generally it rested in a ciborium, in the form of a dove hanging over the altar. It was then ready for the exigencies of the sick and dying, and Church history is full of records of the tremendous profanations it endured from the hands of the heathen, or even heretic Christians. At length, on the occasion of the upspring of a pantheistic school in Europe, headed by David de Dinant, and Amaury de Chartres [b], the doctrine of the Sacrament received additional consideration, and it was deemed expedient to carry the Sacrament through the streets, as a protest patent to

known to Holy Scripture, so it engendereth no godly but a very superstitious sense." This supposed sense was, that the Sacraments conferred the benefits attached to them, to all who received them, without any good dispositions on their part, *sine aliquo bono motu utentis*, as people used to say. Such an opinion could not be too strongly condemned, but nothing could be more alien from the meaning of the term. It is a well-known distinction of the Schoolmen; "Some receive both the Sacrament and the substance of the Sacrament" [viz. those who receive it worthily]; "some, the Sacrament and not the substance" [viz. those who receive it unworthily]; "some, the substance and not the Sacrament[c]" [viz. those who desire to receive it aright, but, in the ordering of God's Providence, are prevented]. This distinction in itself excludes the imputation that, according to this doctrine, the Sacraments benefited those who received them unworthily by their mere reception. Such, in the language of St. Augustine, "placed a bar" to the reception of their grace. And so those alone universally received the benefits of a Sacrament, who could place no bar. "The Sacrament and the substance together all, in fact, receive who in Baptism are cleansed from original sin." The phrase, *ex opere operato*, was devised in contrast with the *ex opere operantis*, and to distinguish the Sacraments of the new law from those of the old; to exclude human merits, not worthy reception; to express that God's gift in the Sacrament is a gift special to the

[c] P. Lomb., l. iv. dist. iv.

Sacrament, "a work worked" by God, beyond and above human co-operation. "When Catholics say that Sacraments confer grace *ex opere operato*, they do not think that they confer it only from the merits of the receiver, either of condignity or impetratory, but by the virtue of the Sacrament itself, without which, even if such disposition preceded, it would not be given [d]." "It is said that Sacraments justify men, *ex opere operato*, because they do not justify by reason of the merits of the work of the minister, who confers the Sacrament, as far as it is his, as operating [*opus operantis*], viz. in what way he may be worthy of praise or blame: but the work of the minister is considered only in itself, be it done well or ill, so that it be done

taken in the Protestant confessions. Luther, regarding them as symbols for the purpose of confirming a man's faith in the forgiveness of sins, could necessarily see no sacramental character in many of those rites which had long been esteemed such. He admitted three,—Baptism, the Lord's Supper, Penitence [f]. Calvin also admitted only two Sacraments, in the sense in which he believed any Sacraments; viz. "outward symbols, whereby God seals to our consciences the promises of His good will towards us to support the weakness of our faith, and we, in turn, attest our piety towards Him, before Him, the angels, and men [g]." Baptism testifies that we *have been* cleansed and washed; the Eucharistic Supper, that we *have been* redeemed [h]." The "five falsely-named Sacraments" he rejected with much vehemence [i], whence there is no allusion to them in any of the original reformed confessions [j].

[f] The number is not defined in the Confession of Augsburg, but these are enumerated in Art. ix.—xii. The Apology, on Art. xiii., declares these three to be Sacraments, as "having the command of God and the promise of the grace of the New Testament. For in all three our hearts ought to settle, that God really forgives us for Christ's sake. Confirmation and Extreme Unction, it says, are rites received from the fathers, which the Church, too, does not require as necessary to salvation, because they have not the command of God." "If Orders be accounted the ministry of the word [i.e. preaching], we should undeniably call 'order' a Sacrament. Matrimony," it says, "if any one wills to call it a Sacrament, should be distinguished from the former, which are properly signs of the New Testament, and are testimonies of grace and of forgiveness of sins." (p. 155, ed. Tittm.)

[g] Inst. iv. n. i. [h] Ibid., n. 22. [i] Ibid., n. 19.

[j] The "declaratio Thoruniensis," the result of an attempt in Poland to unite Catholics, Lutherans, and Reformers, A.D. 1645, alone speak of them. It was received by the reformed in Brandenburg.—*Aug. Diss. Hist. Lit.*, in his *Corpus Libb. Symb.*, pp. 642, 643.

The septenary number of the Sacraments had long been held both by the Greek and Latin Churches, and there is no ground to deprive of a sacramental character the rites for which that character is claimed.

Peter Lombard is the first to formulize the number in the Latin Church. Before that nothing had been defined. Alexander Alensis[k] held that confirmation was not apostolic, but ordained by the Council of Meaux; Buonaventura[l] denies that it was established by Christ; Cajetan[m] denies that extreme unction is the ceremony mentioned in St. James. Rupertus Tuicensis says, "Sacred Baptism, the Holy Eucharist of His Body and Blood, the twin gift of the Holy Ghost. . . . These three Sacraments are the necessary instruments

mean to contradict the Homilies, which they praised; 2. That the writers, both of the Articles and the Homilies, did not use carefully guarded language without a meaning. The word "Sacrament" has notoriously been used in a wider and a stricter sense. The Homilies mention St. Augustine's description, "a visible sign of an invisible grace." In this respect they stand out from those other mysteries of the Christian life, which the fathers have here and there called Sacraments, such as prayer[o], or the Lord's prayer[p], or fasting[q], or Holy Scripture[r], or the Creed[p], or Martyrdom[s]; for although these are instruments of grace, through the blessing of God, they have not been marked out by any visible sign. Now, in this wider sense, "this Article does not deny the five rites in question to be Sacraments; it only denies them to be Sacraments in the same sense in which Baptism and the Lord's Supper are Sacraments,—'Sacraments *of the Gospel*,' 'Sacraments with an outward sign ordained by God.'" "If, then, a Sacrament be merely 'an outward sign of an invisible grace' given under it, the five rites may be Sacraments; but if it must be an outward sign ordained by God or Christ, then only Baptism and the Lord's Supper are in this sense

[s] St. Hilary, *in S. Matt.*, c. v. n. 1.

[p] "The Sacrament of the Creed, which they ought to believe; the Sacrament of the Lord's Prayer, how they ought to ask."—S. Aug., *Serm.* 228 *fin.*

[q] "Sacramentum esuritionis."—St. Hilary, *in S. Matt.*, c. xii. n. 2.

[r] St. Hil., ibid., c. xxiii. n. 4.

[s] St. Jerome, *Ep. ad Ocean.*, n. 6, p. 418, Vall.

'Sacraments.'" Now, in separating off these two Sacraments from the rest, the framers of the Article followed very high authority in the Latin, Greek, and Syriac-speaking Churches. To name no others now, St. Chrysostom, St. Augustine, and their contemporary St. Isaac the Great, gave special honour to those two Sacraments which flowed from the side of Christ[t].

These two, the Article calls "Sacraments of the Gospel," as being, as the Catechism says, "generally necessary to salvation;" or, according to the Homily, "having annexed to the visible signs the promise of free forgiveness of sins, and of our holiness and joining to Christ." "Orders," it has been said, "gives *power*,

is by inheritance ours. But the two Sacraments 'of the Gospel,' as they may be emphatically styled, are the instruments of inward *life*, according to our Lord's declaration, that Baptism is a new *birth*, and that in the Eucharist we eat the *living* bread [u]."

But although these two great Sacraments are severed off from the other five, it has been observed, that so far from denying them to be Sacraments, the writers of all the formularies acknowledge or imply that they are in some sense "Sacraments." The Homilies directly call Marriage a "Sacrament [x];" and of Orders they say, "neither *it*, nor any *other* Sacrament else be *such* Sacraments as Baptism and Communion are [y]." So that we have two of the five expressly called "Sacraments," besides the allusion to "other Sacraments." The Article could not say that the five have not "*like* nature of Sacraments with Baptism and the Lord's Supper," unless the writers meant that they were in some sense "Sacraments." And the difference assigned (which is further remarkable) does not relate to the inward grace, but to the outward form. "For that," it continues, "they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God." In the same way the Homilies expressly say, that "absolution" has the inward grace, "forgiveness of sins," only "not by express word of the New Testament, annexed and tied to the visible sign, which is imposition of hands."

[u] Newman on "Justification," Lect. 6, v. *fin.* [x] Sermon on Swearing, pt. i. [y] Homily on Common Prayer and Sacraments, p. 298.

It was said that the language of the Article, on the number of the Sacraments, is defensible :—

1. To state that there are only seven Sacraments, neither more nor less, is a mode of speech unknown to antiquity. The word was used, if not loosely, in a very extended sense. Christianity, being a religion of mystery, was full of Sacraments. It was the great sacrament of godliness itself, testifying as it did to God manifest in the flesh.

2. The Sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Eucharist are so pre-eminent over the other five, differ so in kind from them, and hang so closely together, that they may be bracketed off by themselves. What circumcision and the passover were to the Fathers, they

The language of the Article is unfortunate, not in that it raised two Sacraments above the rest, but in tending to obscure the sacramental character of the other five rites by undue disparagement. Yet, happily, this Article is neither the exclusive, nor the main teacher of our people, according to the ancient principle, *lex supplicandi, lex credendi.* And, upon the simple principle, that documents should not be interpreted so as to contradict one another, where they can be harmonized the one with the other, since, in regard to Orders and Confirmation, in the service for each an outward sign is prescribed and an inward grace spoken of; and in Matrimony the benediction of the priest is appointed for those who would be married according to the law of the Church; and, in Penitence, there is a form appointed for conveying the grace of that Sacrament; it is clear that this Article must not be interpreted as denying that they are ordinances of God for the conveyance of spiritual grace. Of the fifth, the Anointing of the Sick, hereafter. It cannot be denied that seven ordinances have enclosed the whole Christian life in blessed bonds, not all necessary for all,—nay, in the highest form of Christian life there is no room for Matrimony; and in the first fervour of Christian love, *they* were the exception who needed to be restored by the Sacrament of Penitence,—but conveying, according to men's needs, the grace of which they are channels. They have ever been regarded to have a mystical significance of their own, and separately from the beginning have existed as practices in the

Church. To illustrate which truth, it may be well to dwell on each in order as follows:—

I. The Sacrament (in this inferior sense) by which the Holy Spirit is communicated to the faithful, to confirm and perfect in them faith and religion, is termed, on that account, the gift of the Holy Spirit; Confirmation; perfection; the seal; also, the Sacrament of the Spirit, the symbol of the Spirit, the Sacrament of Unction, the imposition of hands, unction, the mystic unction, the unction of salvation. An outward sign and an inward grace are both assigned in Holy Scripture, in that Peter and John were sent by the Apostles to those baptized in Samaria, "And they laid their hands on them, and they received the Holy Ghost;"

baptized "ought after Baptism to be anointed with the heavenly chrism, and be partakers of the kingdom of Christ[f];" the Apostolical Constitutions call the unction "the confirmation of the confession [in Baptism], the seal of the covenants[g]." St. Cyril, of Alexandria, speaks of "the use of oil, contributing to perfection to those justified in Christ through holy Baptism," as a spiritual meaning of oil[h]; and says, "We are anointed with ointments, especially at the time of holy Baptism, making it a symbol of partaking the Holy Spirit[i]."

The Fathers, both Greek and Latin, speak of Confirmation being given with the imposition of hands, or with Unction with the Holy Chrism, or with both[k].

[f] c. 48. [g] iii. 16, 17. [h] In Joel ii. 23, t. iii. p. 224, Aub.

[i] On Is. xxv. 6, t. ii. p. 353, Aub.

[k] Some Marcosian heretics, denying (St. Irenæus says) "the Baptism of the regeneration to God," said, "it was superfluous to bring persons to the water; but, mingling oil and water with certain words, put it on the heads of those perfected. These, too, anoint with balsam." (St. Iren., i. 10, 1 and 4.) Tertullian mentions both as following upon Baptism, and speaks of them as the complement of Baptism:—"Then, going forth from the laver, we are anointed with the blessed unction according to the ancient discipline, whereby they used to be anointed to the priesthood with oil from a horn. So in us, too, the anointing runneth corporally, but profiteth spiritually; as the carnal act of Baptism itself, that we are immersed in water, is made spiritual that we are delivered from sins. Then the hand is imposed, calling and inviting by its benediction the Holy Spirit." (*De Bapt.*, c. 7.) Again, he places both between Baptism and the Holy Eucharist:—"The flesh is washed, that the soul may be unbespotted; the flesh is anointed, that the soul may be consecrated; the flesh is sealed, that the soul, too, may be guarded; the flesh is overshadowed by imposition of hands, that the soul, too, may be illumined by the Spirit; the flesh is fed with the Body and

"In the oldest Latin Sacramentaries and Pontificals only the laying on of hands and its form is prescribed."

Blood of Christ, that the soul, too, may be nourished from God." (*De Res. carn.*, c. 8.) St. Cyprian speaks of the sanctification of the oil wherewith the baptized are anointed. (*Ep.* lxx. *ad Jan.*) In the *Ep.* lxxiii., *ad Jubaian.*, having spoken of Peter and John "supplying what was wanted, viz. that, prayers being made for them and hands imposed, the Holy Spirit might be invoked and poured upon them;" he adds, "the like whereto is done among us, that they who are baptized in the Church are offered to those set over the Church, that by our prayers and the imposition of hands they may obtain the Holy Spirit, and be perfected with the seal of the Lord." St. Firmilian speaks of the imposition of hands alone, (*Ep. ad S. Cypr., Ep.* lxxv.); as does the Council of Elvira (can. 38). The Luciferian in St. Jerome asks:—"Knowest thou not that this is the custom of the Churches, that on the baptized hands should afterwards be laid, and so the Holy Spirit invoked? Askest thou where this is written? In the Acts of the Apostles. Even

In the formula sent by Clement IV. to Palæologus for the adoption of the Greeks, in view of union (in 1274), it is said of the Sacrament of Confirmation, "which the Bishops confer through imposition of hands, chrisming the regenerate[l]." The whole statement of faith was accepted in the letters sent to the second Council of Lyons, held in 1274[m]:—but the Greeks asked to use the creed and the rites which they had before the schism; so that this is absolute evidence for the West only. The Synod of Mayence, in 1549, citing the Acts, states that "the Catholic Church received from the Apostles the rule of giving the Holy Spirit to the faithful by the hands of the Bishops, and that this Sacrament was from the beginning given by the imposition of hands alone; but that soon in the very time of the Apostles, by their tradition, it began to be conferred, with the use of unction." The ground it assigns is, that the Holy Spirit first descended visibly; when this was withdrawn, "the anointing began to be employed to represent the internal spiritual unction[n]."

A Confession of Faith published in 1662, by Nectarius

ii. 32, vii. 43, 44; unction only in iii. 16, vii. 22. St. Optatus (*Sch. Don.*, iv. 7.) alludes to both. Innocent I. (*Ep.* i. *ad Decent. Eugub.*, n. 3) says that a Priest can seal only with oil consecrated by a Bishop. St. Leo (*Serm.* 24, [*in Nat. Dom.*, iv.] c. 6) mentions Chrism only; in regard to returning heretics, baptized out of the Church, imposition of hands only (*Ep.* clix. *ad Nicet.*, c. 7), as being "what was wanting there;" (*Ep.* clxvi. *ad Neon.*, n. 2) "by imposition of hands, the power of the Holy Spirit invoked, which they could not receive from heretics. (*Ep.* clxvii. *Rust. Inq.*, 18.)

[l] Baron., A. 1267, n. 77.

[m] *Conc. Lugd.* ii., *Lit. Mich. Palæol. ad Greg. X.*

[n] Can. 17, 18.

of Jerusalem, says that Confirmation was originally given by imposition of hands, but now by unction.

The blow bestowed on the cheek of the newly-confirmed person, was a usage imported from chivalry. It is not mentioned before the tenth century.

II. The second inferior Sacrament mentioned in the Article is that of Penance. According to the ancient faith, for those who had fallen into deadly sin after Baptism, there was established a Sacrament to restore the soul to grace, which is variously called Penance, Confession, Absolution, Reconciliation, the second Baptism, the Laborious Baptism, the second Repentance, the second raft after Shipwreck.

The inward grace, the forgiveness of sins, is promised

There is absolutely no doubt that this mercy towards grievous sinners was exercised by the Church from the very first. The course of public penance, by which the soul was prepared for the grace of Christ in the Absolution, is mentioned by St. Irenæus, who speaks of an adulteress, who "having been converted, continued during the whole period [of her life] in a state of penitence" [ἐξομολογουμένη, *in exhomologesi*, old Lat.], "weeping and lamenting what she had undergone through the impostor[o]" Marcus the Gnostic, and of the women, who, having been led astray by him, had no courage to undertake the labours of penance[p]; by Tertullian, who shews how, by the disposition of divine goodness, penance purifies the soul from all sins whatsoever, — how it is a plank which should bear those sunk beneath the waves of sin to the haven of Divine mercy, — and how sin must not be concealed, but confessed sincerely[q]; by Lactantius, who observes as a distinctive note of the Church Catholic the advantage she has in having confession and penance as the cure of sin and of the wounds of the soul[r]; by Origen, who says the seventh means of obtaining the remission of sin, hard and laborious, is penance, when the sinner waters his couch with his tears, when his tears become his meat day and night, when he blushes not to discover his sin to the priest of the Lord, and seek a remedy for the ills of his

[o] i. 13, n. 5. [p] Ib., n. 7. [q] *De Pœn.*, ii., iv., ix., x. He asks:—"Is it better to be damned in secret, than absolved openly?" [r] *Instit. Div.*, iv. 30.

soul[s]. The course of public penance was known by a technical Greek term, "exomologesis."

While the true dispenser of pardon is God in His Son Jesus Christ, our great High-Priest, the visible and earthly organ is the Christian Hierarchy; but no absolution of theirs is valid, without a true repentance arising from the love of God, and a steady determination by His grace never to fall into deadly sin again. Furthermore, perfect contrition, in virtue of the *ardor charitatis*[t] which is its form, without the sacrament, effaces all sin; yet no enlightened and instructed conscience would venture into the presence of its Judge with any of those sins unconfessed and unabsolved, of which He saith:—"They which do such things shall not inherit the Kingdom of God[u]."

III. The rite whereby men were raised in the Church to the clerical state[x], was early called 'order,' the 'laying on of hands,' 'ordination,' the 'sacrament of the pontiff,' the 'priestly benediction,' the 'Levitical benediction.' Both the outward sign and the inward gift are named in Holy Scripture:—"Stir up the gift of God, which is in thee, by the laying on of my hands[y]."

From all antiquity the Church has firmly believed in a special and proper priesthood, having its undoubted title in the mission and authority it has received from Jesus Christ, and has expressed this belief in its outward life and organization. It has never denied the universal priesthood of those who are the members of Jesus Christ, our great High-Priest, who have received the unction of the Spirit, and who should offer themselves ever a living sacrifice to God; but this belief does not contradict the notion that our Lord has intrusted the ministry of the word and Sacraments, not to all the faithful, but to certain delegated individuals. While in one sense acknowledging our Lord to be the One Priest, she has ever firmly held the existence of a proper Priesthood, having an undoubted title in the mission and authority received from Christ. "Bishops and presbyters are properly termed priests[z]." That the right to administer the Sacraments is given to a corporation, and very strong language of a certain mediation between God and the people, is found through all the Fathers.

[x] "Ordo Sacerdotalis."—Tertullian, *Exhort. cast*, 7, p. 778, Rig.

[y] 2 Tim. i. 6.

[z] St. Aug., *Civ. Dei*, xx. 10.

The Marcionites were the first to misconceive the universal priesthood of Christians. In the Middle ages the Cathari and Flagellants denied the objective reality of the Christian Priesthood. Wickliffe maintained that a priest in mortal sin is thereby degraded from the priesthood, and loses the power of administering the Sacraments; whence it would follow that, the inward state of priests being known only to God, the validity of their clerical acts would become radically doubtful and uncertain.

Luther, insisting on the universal priesthood of Christians, absolutely denied any grace of orders, yet, to avoid anarchy, he admitted, though inconsistently, the necessity of ordination; yet by it he understood

a fact to which the universal consent of tradition bears witness.

IV. If marriage, even according to the Roman laws, was estimated as the mutual enjoyment of right, both divine and human (*jurium divinorum et humanorum consortium*), one may imagine how much more highly it was regarded in the purer atmosphere of Christianity. First in the actual life of the members of Christ, and then in the scientific development of the idea, we find a perfect revolution in the relations which obtained between the sexes. The prevalence of the Manichæan heresy and of Gnosticism, both of which depreciated Matrimony, was under God the means whereby the doctrine concerning it became submitted to Christian analysis, and therefore we find, in those authors who confuted these heresies, a scientific treatment of it. Especially is this the case in St. Augustine.

Matrimony, such as it exists under the Gospel, is the most mysterious expression of human love, shadowing out Divine. St. Chrysostom remarks the mystery in this, as laid down in Paradise, how, towards one, heretofore a stranger and unknown, it surmounts the highest love of relationship of parent and child, and parents rejoice to be forsaken for it, as being the earthly contentment of human love. But the Gospel made it more. Through grace, the full, self-forgetful, self-surrender of each to the other in all things lawful, in unfelt, unconscious, because love-ensouled self-denial, makes it a human shadow of that

Divine self-emptying love of Christ for His Church, wherewith "He gave Himself for it," and of the Church's fealty to its Lord and Head. The mysterious oneness of the married "signified the mystical union between Christ and His Church." St. Paul was speaking of Christian marriage when he said, "this mystery," or "Sacrament, is great, but I say with reference to Christ and the Church," i.e. the mystery of the conjugal union is great, in its bearing on the union between Christ and the Church. But marriage out of Christianity did not so picture that union, on account of the toleration (1.) of polygamy, (2.) of divorce. In any case, it is of Christian marriage that he is speaking, since he is giving a rule for living in it according to the greatness of its mystery. He

St. Jerome[e] says that matrimony, so far from being disapproved by the Church, is on the contrary conferred by her. If Marius Victorinus, St. Zeno of Verona, St. Chrysostom, St. Epiphanius, content themselves by recognising in general terms the profound and mysterious signification of marriage; St. Augustine frequently calls it in the most express terms a Sacrament[f], even predicating of it an indelible character as in Baptism and Confirmation[g].

In 1179 it was forbidden to receive fees for it, "as for other Sacraments[h]." Yet several of the middle-age theologians do not express themselves very strongly on the subject. Abelard and Peter Lombard denied that Matrimony conveyed grace. Durandus, granting that the theologians of his age held it to be a Sacrament properly so called, maintained that it was not so in a proper and rigorous sense, but only taken largely.

V. The unction of the sick is the lost pleiad of the Anglican firmament. One must at once confess and deplore that a distinctly Scriptural practice has ceased to be commanded in the Church of England. Excuses may be made of "corrupt following of the Apostles," in that it was used, contrary to the mind of St. James, when all hope of the restoration of bodily health was

[e] *Adv. Jovin.*, l. i.

[f] *Gen. ad lit.*, c. ix. n. 12, 7; *Bon. Conjug.*, c. vii. n. 7, xxiv. n. 32; *Nupt. et Concup.*, i. xii. n. 13, xvii. n. 19; *Pecc. Orig.*, xxxiv. n. 39, xxxvii. n. 42.

[g] *Adult. Conj.*, ii. 4; *Nupt. et Concup.*, i. x. n. 4, xvii. n. 19; *de bono Conj.*, c. vii.; *de Gen.*, l. c.

[h] *Lateran.*, 1179. Can. vii.

gone; but it cannot be denied that there has been practically lost an Apostolic practice, whereby, in case of grievous sickness, the faithful were anointed and prayed over, for the forgiveness of their sins, and to restore them, if God so willed, or to give them spiritual support in their maladies. "Is any sick among you? Let him call for the elders of the Church. And let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the Name of the Lord. And the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up, and if he have committed sins they shall be forgiven him[j]."

On whatever ground, the earliest notice which occurs of the unction of the sick[k], is in an Epistle of Innocent I., A.D. 416. For, although Origen quotes the text of St. James he does so exclusively in relation to the

of Decentius was, whether a Bishop might anoint the sick; Innocent's answer was, certainly he might, since according to St. James, presbyters might. But the answer brings out the facts, that the Chrism for that object was prepared by the Bishop, and that the laity might use it in any needs of themselves or their friends. Only those under penance, being in fact excommunicate, could not have it, being a Sacrament, since they were debarred from all Sacraments.

"There is no doubt that this [the passage of St. James] ought to be understood of the faithful, when sick, who can [*possunt*] be anointed with the holy oil of Chrism, which, being made by the Bishop, not the Priest only, but all Christians may use, by anointing, in their own or their friends' necessities. But it was added needlessly, that it was doubted as to Bishops, in what, there is no doubt, is allowed to Presbyters. For it is therefore said [in St. James] of Presbyters, because the Bishops, being hindered by other occupations, cannot go to all sick persons. But if a Bishop either can or thinks it meet to visit any one, *he* can unhesitatingly bless and touch with the Chrism, to whom it appertaineth to make the Chrism itself. For on penitents it cannot be poured, because it is a kind of Sacrament. For to whom the remaining Sacraments are denied, how can it be thought that one kind is allowed[p]?"

St. Cæsarius, of Arles, exhorts persons in sickness to

[p] Resp. viii.

have recourse to the remedies of the Church, not to charms:—"As soon as any illness supervenes, let the sick person receive the Body and Blood of Christ, and then anoint his poor body, that that which is written may be fulfilled in him; 'If any is sick among you,' &c. See, brethren, that he who in sickness has recourse to the Church, will both receive health of body and obtain forgiveness of sins. Since these twofold benefits can be found in the Church, why do hapless men strain to bring on themselves manifold evils through enchanters, or soothsayers, or diviners[q]?" The passage of Cæsarius agrees with that of Innocent I. in presupposing that the sick man *anointed himself*.

In the Eastern Church, the early reference to the text relates (as we have seen) to "the power of the

as akin to it, but speaks of the anointing and the prayer accompanying it, as a thing of the past, so that the natural inference would rather be, that it was not used in Antioch in his time. He ascribes emphatically the whole effect to the prayer. St. Cyril, of Alexandria, also quotes the text barely, in the course of an abstract argument about heathen incantations[s]. If people thought that the titles of God would dispel their diseases, he bids them, praying for themselves, utter the words. "*Thou*," he says, "wilt do better than *they* [the evil spirits], offering glory to God and not to the foul spirits. I will mention the Divinely-inspired Scripture too, which saith, 'Is any sick among you let him call,'" &c.

The meagreness of tradition is, however, replaced in some measure by the agreement of the Greeks, the Armenians, the Nestorians, and all the Orientals, with the Latins on this subject; so that one cannot doubt that a sacramental use of anointing the sick has been from the beginning.

Our Abp. Theodore, A.D. 680, contrasts the customs of the Greeks and Latins, in that "according to the

For it is manifest to every one, that the prayer effect*ed* the whole, but the oil, *as I deem*, *was* the symbol of these things." [Pelt. paraphrased, "But *it may be said* that prayer effect*eth* all these things, but that the oil *is* only an outward symbol of all those things which *take place*."]

[s] *De Adorat.*, l. vi. t. i. p. 211, Aub. Palladius, the other speaker in St. Cyril's Dialogue, being satisfied on this subject of augury, St. Cyril goes on to speak of false-swearing. Anastasius Sinaita, qu. 23, on the power of evil spirits to produce miraculous effects, extracts this with other passages.

Greeks a Presbyter may make the Chrism for the sick, if need be; according to the Romans, it is not allowed, save to the Bishop only[t]." Ecgbert, Abp. of York, A.D. 732, in his extract *de jure sacerdotali*, has the rule, "That according to the enactment of the holy fathers, if any is sick, he be diligently anointed with sanctified oil together with prayers[u]." Among the canons enacted under King Edgar, it is enjoined, that "every Priest give unction to the sick, *if they desire it*," and "have both baptismal oil and unction for the sick[x]," and an enactment occurs, as to his report of himself, "when he fetches Chrism," i.e. from the Episcopal city. The unction of the sick "*if* the sick layman desire it," is enjoined in the canons of

Eastern[b] Church, that restoration to bodily health was, and is still, according to the belief of the Church, a primary object of the anointing. Mabillon[c] traces the change to the popular superstition about the beginning of the thirteenth century.

"Of old," he says, "it was used before the viaticum," [and probably some time before, whence it would follow, that, since it was used once only in the same illness, it would not be used at the last]. Hence he explains the fact, that there is no mention of unction in the life of St. Gertrude (died A.D. 678), of St. Eustasius (died about A.D. 625), of St. Richarius (died about 645), although there is mention of their receiving the viaticum. The anointing with the holy oil *before* the viaticum is mentioned in Sugerius' life of Louis VI., as to his Queen St. Chrotildis, and in the contemporary but anonymous life of St. Hernigundis (died about A.D. 660).

Mabillon says, moreover, that it came to be called "*extreme* unction" [probably, originally, the last of

Invocation of Thy Name, and, freeing Thy servant from sickness and granting him health, raise him up with Thy right hand, strengthen him with might, protect him with power, and, with the longed-for prosperity, restore him to Thy Holy Church, through," &c.—*Rituale Rom. Paul V. jussu, edit.* Antw. 1669.

[b] "Holy Father, healer of souls and bodies, Who didst send Thine Only-Begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, healing every disease and redeeming from death, heal this Thy servant also of the sickness of soul and body which encompasses him, and quicken him through the grace of Thy Christ;—for Thou art the Fountain of healings, O Christ our God, and to Thee we send up the glory, to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit."—Euchologion, p. 417. Paris, 1647.

[c] *Præf. ad* tom. i. *Actt. S. Ordinis Benedict.*

the unctions used in the rites of the Church during the Christian's life], "not before the close of the 12th century." For that "the name '*extreme* unction' does not occur in the Sacramentaries published by Menard; nor in Uldaric, in the *Consuetudines Cluniacenses;* nor in Lanfranc, Anselm, Peter Damiani, Peter de Honestis, in the *regula Clericorum;* nor in St. Bernard or P. Lombard." Yet that "it was called '*extreme* unction,' before it was placed after the viaticum, as appears from the contemporary life of William, Abp. of Bourges, died A.D. 1209, in Bollandus, Jan. 10." "This custom," he says, "continues intact till now only among the Cistercian monks, and perhaps certain Churches."

The first appearance of the superstition cited by

some so dreaded the anointing, that they would not consent to receive it. Confession of sin to the Priest was required before the unction could be used[e]. The superstition was condemned by the sixth statute of the Synod of Exeter, A.D. 1287. There it was found necessary to enjoin, that it should be publicly declared through the parochial presbyters[f], that that Sacrament, as also some others, may be repeated as often as there is need. And thus, because some unskilled laity, thinking unwisely concerning this Sacrament, so abhor it, and refuse to receive it even *in extremis*, foolishly thinking that after its reception, the eating of flesh, walking barefoot, and even tokens of love from one's lawful wife, are entirely forbidden[g]; the Synod speaks of it as a heresy. This enactment is itself repeated almost *verbatim* in the Synodal Constitutions

vowed the contrary, enjoy the society of women, and flesh, if he himself will. In the unction there is healing and forgiveness of sins, and it is no ordination as some men imagine. And if the man be again sick, let him again receive unction, when it be needful." (Ælfric, Past. Ep., n. 47, 48. Thorpe, ii. 385.)

[e] "The priest shall have allowed oil apart for children, and apart for sick men, and always anoint the sick in bed. Some sick men are fearful, so that they will not consent to be anointed in their illness. Now we will tell you how James, the Apostle of God, taught hereon:—'If any among you be sick, let him pray with one mind and praise his Lord!' 'If any one among you be sick, let him order to be fetched to him the mass-priests of the Church, and let them sing over him, and pray for him,' &c. Thus spake James the Apostle concerning the unction for sick men; but the sick must confess with inward groaning to the priest, whether he has any crimes unatoned for, before he anoints him, as the Apostle has before enjoined; and no man may anoint him before he pray for this, and do his confession."

[f] Wilkins, *Conc.*, ii. 295.

[g] Ibid., tom. ii. p. 135; see *Statuta Scotiæ*, tom. ii. 278.

of H. Wodlake, Bishop of Winchester, about A.D. 1308[h]. But the popular dread of the Sacrament prevailed; and Mabillon thinks it probable, that "on account of such phrenzies, the anointing of the sick began to be reserved for the point of death, and that that custom was gradually extended to all Churches."

But *abusus non tollit usum*. The Church of England acted more in conformity to its declared adherence to antiquity, by appointing, in the first instance, a service for the anointing of the sick in her first English Prayer-book. This was among the losses in those unhappy times just before the accession of Mary, and although everything of that earlier liturgy was praised by those who removed it, it has never been restored. Since, however, the Visitation of the Sick is a private office

ARTICLE XXVI.

De vi Institutionum Divinarum, quod eam non tollat malitia Ministrorum.

Quamvis in Ecclesia visibili bonis mali semper sunt admixti, atque interdum ministerio verbi et Sacramentorum administrationi præsint, tamen cum non suo, sed Christi nomine agant, ejusque mandato et authoritate ministrent, illorum ministerio uti licet, cum in verbo Dei audiendo, tum in Sacramentis percipiendis. Neque per illorum malitiam, effectus institutorum Christi tollitur, aut gratia donorum Dei minuitur, quoad eos qui fide et rite sibi oblata percipiunt, quæ propter institutionem Christi et promissionem efficacia sunt, licet per malos administrentur.

Ad Ecclesiæ tamen disciplinam pertinet, ut in malos ministros inquiratur, accusenturque ab his, qui eorum flagitia noverint, atque tandem justo convicti judicio, deponantur.

"*Of the Unworthiness of the Ministers, which hinders not the effect of the Sacraments.*

"Although in the visible Church the evil be ever mingled with the good, and sometimes the evil have chief authority in the ministration of the Word and Sacraments; yet, forasmuch as they do not the same in their own name, but in Christ's, and do minister by His commission and authority, we may use their ministry, both in hearing the Word of God, and in the receiving of the Sacraments. Neither is the effect of Christ's ordinance taken away by their wickedness, nor the grace of

God's gifts diminished from such as by faith and rightly do receive the Sacraments ministered unto them, which be effectual, because of Christ's institution and promise, although they be ministered by evil men.

"Nevertheless, it appertaineth to the discipline of the Church, that inquiry be made of evil ministers, and that they be accused by those that have knowledge of their offences; and finally, being found guilty by just judgment, be deposed."

Some special prerogatives and responsibilities of the Christian ministry have with more or less logical consistency been acknowledged by every sect and Church. Even those who have taught that the ministerial power is a mere delegation of power from the congregation

set over you in the Lord," and who regard the sacred office as the medium of certain mysterious blessings, the holders of that office being "stewards of the mysteries of God."

Where this belief prevails, not only is a higher standard demanded of the officers of religion, but anything like sin or immorality is regarded with the greatest abhorrence. That any so invested with the gifts of ordination should partake in the vices or worldlinesses of those around them, is offensive in the highest degree to Christian instincts. A specially holy life is the correlative of specially holy gifts, and therefore, like "the hedge of the law" among the Jews, certain amusements and occupations, not in themselves wrong, are proscribed by the spiritual sense of the Church, and termed unclerical, meaning thereby that they are unworthy of the thoughts of the *clerus*, or Lord's heritage.

Moreover the measure of proportion indicated in the old law, where it is said, "as with the priest so with the people," is observable under the new law. The vices and virtues of the clergy will form a pretty accurate gauge of the religious condition of a Church, and while every reformation and revival has been attended or preceded by increasing strictness on the part of the clergy, (as in the great Cistercian movement in the twelfth century,) all periods of religious decay have been caused or accompanied by a corresponding degradation of the character of the clergy. The state of things indicated by the manners pourtrayed in Chaucer's "Canterbury Tales," is sufficient proof of this.

Or take the scornful picture given by Dante[a]:—

"Venne Cephas: e venne el gran vasello
De lo Spirito Santo magri e scalzi
Prendendo 'l cibo di qualunque hostello
Or voglion quinci e quindi chi rincalzi
Le moderni Pastori, e che li meni
Tanto son gravi: e chi dirietro gli alzi.
Cuopron de' manti loro i palafreni,
Sì che due bestie van sott' una pelle:
O Patienza che tanto sostieni."

But while the sensitiveness of the conscience of the Church touching the virtues of the clergy must be recognised and admired, the student of history cannot fail to notice from the earliest period a tendency to for-

in conformity with their divine purpose and by the virtue attached to them by our Lord, they always obtain their end, and confer their peculiar grace in all cases universally, where man imposes no obstacle. But a further question arose: could that obstacle be found in the moral state of the administrator? It was granted that certain moral conditions in the case of the recipient could mar the effect of the Sacrament, but what about him who ministered it? The Church has always held that his unworthiness could put no obstacle to grace, nor foul the source whence flowed the streams of Christ's benediction. "He who receiveth is not injured, even if he who bestows should seem unworthy; nor are the unspotted mysteries defiled, should the priest exceed all men in wickedness, (*παρελάσειεν* [b])." St. Augustine points out that if this were not so, man would lose all his motives for confidence in God, and God would cease to be his only hope [c]. St. Optatus shews that they who baptize are the labourers, not the householder; and that the Sacraments are holy *per se;* and that it is to shut God out of His gifts to maintain otherwise [d].

Yet from an early period this truth was resisted, 1. by the Novatians, who rejected the Baptism of the Church [e], ascribing, an ancient writer says [f], the

[b] S. Isid., l. iii. *Ep.* cccxl.: see also Greg. Naz., *Orat.* 40; Chrys., *in Matth. Hom.* l. n. 3.

[c] *Cont. Lit. Petil.*, i. 4. n. 5, and i. 3. n. 4; 6. n. 7.

[d] *De Schism. Don.*, v. 4.

[e] St. Cypr., *Ep.* lxxiii. n. 2. p. 243, Oxf. Tr.

[f] *Quæstt. V. et N. T.*, ap. q. 102, in St. Aug., Opp. t. iii. App., p. 98, Ben.

efficacy of the Sacraments to the character of him who administered them; 2. by the Donatists, who, regarding the piety of the administrator as the condition of the efficacy of the Sacraments, refused to recognise the ordination of Cæcilian by Felix of Aphthonga, whom the Donatists accused falsely of having been a traditor, that is, having in the persecution delivered up the sacred vessels and books, under threat of death [5].

At the great revival of mental thought in the middle ages, this notion, probably caused by the exceeding corruption in the lives of the ecclesiastics, was again and again produced. Arnold of Brescia, and his adherents, taught it. The Vaudois maintained that priests in mortal sin could not consecrate the

their acts on this theory becomes radically doubtful and uncertain [h].

This led on to another error at the time of the Reformation. The efficacy of the Sacraments was held no longer to depend on the interior disposition of the minister. Not the beneficial effect only, but the reality also of the Sacrament was held to depend on the interior disposition, the faith of him to whom the Sacrament was administered [i].

Our Article condemns both these notions. It lays down that the Sacraments have an objective value in virtue of their institution. Sacraments "be effectual because of Christ's institution and promise," therefore they do not depend on the state of the recipients. It also lays down that the clergy, who have chief authority in the ministration of Word and Sacraments, do not minister in their own name, but in Christ's; therefore neither do they depend on the state of the celebrant. The Article, however, thinks it right to bring prominently forward the necessity of men being in a fit state for the beneficial partaking of these ordinances, and therefore dwells on the fact that the grace of God's gifts in the case of wicked clergy is not diminished from such as "by faith and rightly" receive them.

[h] Vide Gerson, *Responsio ad Error. de orat. privat. fidelium*, tom. ii. p. 654; Du Pin, D'Argentie, *Collect. Judiciorum de nov. err.*, tom. i. p. 2; p. 168.

[i] Luther, *Capt. Bab.*, tom. ii. ed. Gen. p. 286; *Conf. Aug.* xiii. *Apol.* art. iii. n. 155.

"Nevertheless, it appertaineth to the discipline of the Church that inquiry be made of evil ministers." That the vices of the clergy helped to produce the Reformation is a fact allowed on all hands. In the Provincial Council held in 1549 at Edinburgh, it is declared "that the two main roots and causes of the evils which have occasioned the disturbances, and the heresies which the Synod met to check, are the corruption of manners and profane indecency of life of the clergy on the one hand, and the gross ignorance of good letters and all arts on the other[k]." The same convention exhorts the prelates and beneficed clergy in the bowels of Jesus Christ and for zeal of piety, in order to meet heresy, to amend their ways, "lest they should proceed to correct the morals of others themselves en-

to restore discipline drove over some of the younger abbots and beneficiaries to the cause of the Reformed to escape Reformation. Perhaps sin and fear had paralysed the energies of those who made the laws. Of the six bishops present at the Synod of 1549, three at least were stained with the worst crimes condemned; the salt had lost its savour, and the violence of the subsequent changes becomes the measure of the corruption which occasioned them.

In England it was not so bad, though even here there was much to amend. The succession of earnest prelates never wholly died out, even to the last. Witness the praise of Warham by Erasmus, and Fuller's less generous testimony to the eminent merits of Fisher.

That a false opinion, that had created the great schism of the Donatists in Africa, should be condemned, is not surprising. No body such as the English Church could continue to maintain an organic existence, if the efficacy of its sacramental rites depended upon the inward condition of its ministers. But the condemnation is remarkable when we remember that the opinion here censured was the centre-point of the reforming theories both of Wicliff and of Huss. According to these, the wicked or unworthy priest was no priest. An immoral Pope was no true successor of Peter, or Vicar of Jesus Christ. The great popularity of the name of Wicliff, as the great forerunner of the English Reformation, has blinded men to the real character of the communistic and anti-social theories in State craft which he advocated; and it is a remark-

able thing that one of the Articles of the Reformed Church of England should in such trenchant terms deny his theory of the priesthood. The solution of the difficulty seems to be that although Wicliff had told profoundly on the conscience of England, (we find this in the conduct of Robert Hallam, Bishop of Salisbury, at the Council of Constance, who not only inveighed against the vices of Pope John XXIII., but objected to the burning of Huss,) nevertheless as a party the Lollards were never popular in England, (Shakspeare is said to have called Falstaff, Sir John Oldcastle, in his first draft of Henry IV.,) and therefore it is doubtful whether these earlier Reformers are the true fathers of the later ones. Pro-

ARTICLE XXVII.

De Baptismo.

Baptismus non est tantum professionis signum, ac discriminis nota, qua Christiani a non Christianis discernantur, sed etiam est signum regenerationis, per quod tanquam per instrumentum, recte baptismum suscipientes Ecclesiæ inseruntur, promissiones de remissione peccatorum, atque adoptione nostra in filios Dei per Spiritum Sanctum visibiliter obsignantur, fides confirmatur, et vi divinæ invocationis gratia augetur.

Baptismus parvulorum omnino in Ecclesia retinendus est, ut qui cum Christi institutione optime congruat.

"Of Baptism.

"Baptism is not only a sign of profession, and mark of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from others that be not christened; but it is also a sign of regeneration or new birth, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly are grafted into the Church; the promises of forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed; faith is confirmed, and grace increased by virtue of prayer unto God. The baptism of young children is in any wise to be retained in the Church, as most agreeable with the institution of Christ."

To be severed from the mass of mankind, to be distinguished as the little flock to whom it has pleased the Father to give the kingdom, is no small privilege, yet this is the first and lowest conception of the Sacrament of Baptism. It is a mark of difference "whereby Christian men are discerned from others that be not christened" (Lat. *a non Christianis*). But it is something infinitely higher than this, and the gifts therein bestowed are classed by the Article under the following four heads.

First, "it is a sign of regeneration or new birth, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive Baptism rightly are grafted into the Church."

Here observe, first of all, that the word "sign" is

wandering in error; and they have the lot of righteousness who were in the confusion of sin. For they are not only free, but holy; not holy only, but righteous; not righteous only, but sons; not sons only, but heirs; not heirs only, but brethren of Christ; not brethren of Christ only, but co-heirs; not co-heirs only, but members; not members only, but a temple; not a temple only, but instruments of the Spirit. See how many are the free gifts of Baptism: and whereas some think that the heavenly grace consists only in the remission of sin, lo! we have accounted ten glories thereof. Wherefore we baptize infants, although they have no sins, that holiness, righteousness, adoption, inheritance, brotherhood with Christ, may be added to them; that they may become His members."

Secondly, "The promises of forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed," (*visibiliter obsignantur*). Again, says St. Chrysostom:—"The being sealed is a mark of great Providence; that we are not set apart only, not taken by lot only, but sealed. For as one would make manifest those who fell to him, so also God set us apart that we should believe, He has sealed us that we should inherit the things to come. Again, through the things that are passed, He establishes those to come. For if it is He Who establisheth us to Christ, (that is, Who suffereth us not to be broken from the faith toward Christ); and He also Who anointed us, and gave the Spirit in our hearts, how shall He not give us the things to come? For, if He

gave the beginnings, and the foundations, and the root, and the fountain, that is, the true knowledge of Himself, the participation of the Spirit, how shall He not give the result thereof?"

The Liturgies of the East and West agree in calling Baptism a seal, an impress, a guardian mark to those baptized. The baptized themselves are, in the language of the Revelations, called "the sealed;" and while they use the word "seal" chiefly of the great sacramental act of Baptism itself, they regard that great mystery as casting a portion of its radiance before and behind, and giving efficacy to other acts connected with it. The Church regards our Lord as favourably allowing the charitable work of bringing new members to Him, and so believing that He anticipated a portion of His grace to preserve them during the interval until they are fully prepared for Baptism, they ventured to affix His seal on catechumens; or, after Baptism, they again visibly and formally affixed it, thereby representing to the mind what has first been worked invisibly by the Holy Spirit. As this was done in the form of the Saviour's cross, and the term "seal" applied to that act of impressing the cross, it is probable that the word "sealing" was connected with a corresponding outward act, such as the sealing of the forehead actually spoken of by St. John; so that, we may infer that the use of the cross in Baptism was coeval with Christian Baptism itself, which imparts to us the saving virtue of the Passion of Christ[b].

[b] cf. Dr. Pusey's Tract on Baptism, p. 140.

Thirdly, "Faith is confirmed." In the ancient rituals, at the beginning of the service, the god-parents were asked in the name of the child to be baptized, "What seekest thou of the Church?" and the answer is, "Faith." This teaches us that, whereas God's first or prevenient grace brings men to Faith and Baptism, and a certain pre-disposition of faith along with repentance is bestowed in that holy ordinance, yet, as a consequence of our incorporation in Christ, fuller measures of assisting grace are bestowed upon the recipient, and that faith, which in its inchoate state obtained the grace of Baptism, is by that same Baptism increased and confirmed according to the blessed promise of God, "Open thy mouth wide, and I will fill it."

Fourthly, "Grace is increased by virtue of the invocation of the divine name" (*vi divinæ invocationis*), for thus the Latin version of the Article teaches us to understand what in this connection would be unintelligible, viz. the expression in the English Article, that "grace is increased by virtue of prayer to God." This in its literal sense would be a truism, but, rightly interpreted, it asserts the great religious truth that Baptism not only confers but increases grace, bestows more abundantly the help and assistance of God according to the enlarged capacities of the new man in Christ, makes the soul more and more radiant and beautiful in the eyes of God.

The question of infant baptism, while not without its authority, according to the terms of the Article, in

the inspired Word of God, rests mainly upon that of the Church. Perhaps nothing tends to exhibit in so striking a manner the objective nature of the Sacraments of the new law, than the practice of conferring them upon those who are incapable of reason, in the belief that from such a ceremony any possible good result shall follow. This difficulty has not only perplexed many good Christians, but forms the ground of defence of the advocates of adult baptism.

The doctrine can in no way be explained away, or its edge blunted. True, that beyond certain indications of the existence of baptismal grace and growth herein exhibited in the lives of some favoured servants of God, we have ordinarily no direct evidence of the new principle of spiritual life therein imparted. But faith needs not external tokens of what God has promised. We have nothing to do but to submit our reason to what the Church has taught us, firmly convinced that since our Blessed Lord suffered the little children to come unto Him, and since St. Paul pronounced the children of his converts to be holy, we may be sure that the bounty and goodness of God works invisibly in His elect, anticipates by grace the first risings of the lower motions of our nature, determines the soul to good from earliest days, tends it from youth up with fostering hand, arms it in the beginning for the battle of life, and prevents it in all its doings with His most gracious favour.

The Article expresses itself distinctly but cautiously on the subject of infant Baptism. It asserts that "it

is in any wise to be retained," and grounds that retention on the dogmatic fact, that it is most congruous with the institution of Christ, (*cum institutione Christi optime congruat,*) i.e. just what we should expect from that law of benediction, supernatural power, and unmerited grace, which the Gospel emphatically exhibits.

And this very much represents what Holy Scripture indicates on the subject. While there is no direct command for the practice, all analogies and all inferences are in its favour. The practice of infant circumcision, and of the infant baptism of proselytes among the Jews; the universality of the injunction "to teach all the nations, baptizing them[c];" the absoluteness of what our Lord said to Nicodemus[d], coupled with the "Suffer the little children to come unto Me[e];" the assertion that the children of Christians are "holy[f]," which implies a cleansing from original sin; the practice of the Baptism of households[g], all are in favour of the practice, which actually from St. Justin[h], Tertullian[i], Origen[k], and others, we find to have obtained, although in later times the practice of deferring Baptism became common, out of fear of forfeiting the fulness of its gift by grave subsequent sin[l].

The reader will remember what has been said under Article XVI. as to the effect of the Sacrament of Bap-

[c] St. Matt. xxviii. 19. [d] St. John iii. 5. [e] St. Mark x. 14.
[f] 1 Cor. vii. 14. [g] Acts xvi. 15, 33; 1 Cor. i. 16.
[h] *Apol.*, i. 15, p. 11, Oxf. Tr. [i] *De Bapt.*, c. 18.
[k] *In Luc., Hom.* xiv. [l] See St. Aug. Conf., i. n. 17, 18, pp. 10, 11, Oxf. Tr.

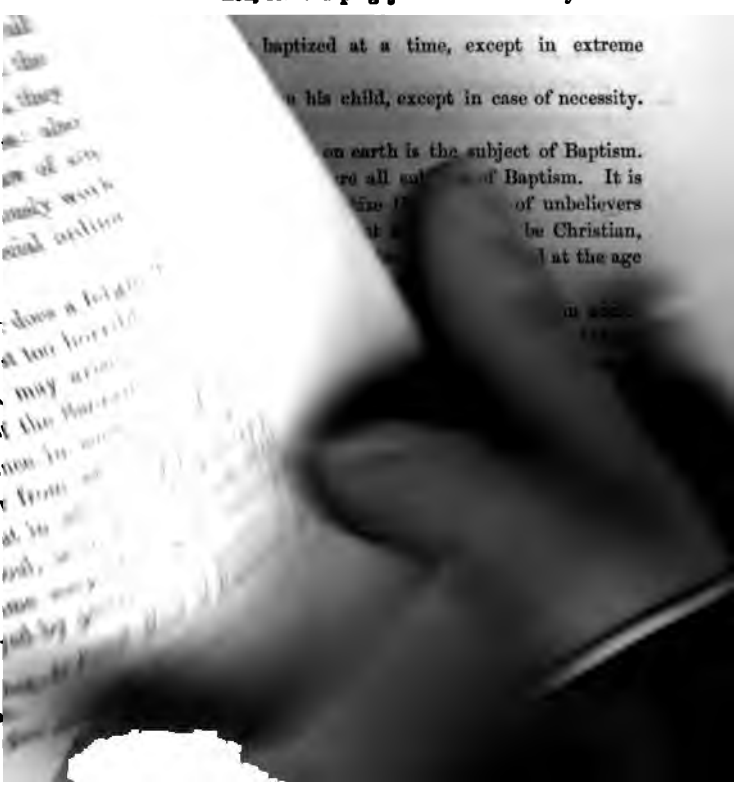
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arish baptising against the will of the incumbent shed, for usurping jurisdiction contrary to the



ritual life, which is by the faith of Christ, according to the Apostle, "The life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God[r]." But life can only exist in members united to their head, from which they receive sense and motion; so from the spiritual Head, Christ, are derived the spiritual sense, which is the knowledge of truth; and the spiritual motion, which is the instinct of grace.

VI. This of course opens up the question of the theological reasons for infant Baptism, for how can the knowledge of the truth and the instinct of grace be in those who have no will or reason? To this it is answered, that as the promises attached to Baptism by Christianity belong to all the members of Christ, they attach to children with all their con-

VII. The next grace of Baptism is the opening of the Kingdom of Heaven, which was signified miraculously [t] at the Baptism of our Saviour. To open the door is to remove the impediment which prevents entrance; but that impediment is the *culpa* and *reatus pœnæ*, both of which are removed by Baptism, in that it incorporates men into the Passion of Christ.

VIII. The effects of Baptism are, as to its essence, the same in all, but not, of necessity, its accidental effects. Essentially, it was ordained to regenerate all men into the spiritual life; but accidentally, in the case of adults, coming with more or less devotion, they may receive more or less of the grace of newness: also the divine virtue, in the extinction of the law of sin in the members, may in some cases miraculously work to its entire destruction, according to a special ordination of divine Providence [u].

IX. A serious question arises, how far does a feigned Baptism hinder its effect. It is almost too horrible to suppose such a thing, but a fiction may arise, either from unbelief, or from contempt of the Sacrament, or from a celebration of the ordinance in such a way as would vitiate the Sacrament, or from an indevout access to it. The answer is, that in all cases *Character*, the invisible seal upon the soul, is conferred; but the other effects are for the time suspended, and emerge when the fiction is destroyed by penitence [x].

[t] St. Luke iii. 22. [u] St. Aug., *de Peccat. Merit. et Remiss.*, c. 39.
[x] St. Thos. 3ª qu. 69, 1—10.
Baptism holds the first place among the Sacraments, because it is

the gate of the spiritual life; by it we are made members of Christ, and become of the Body of the Church. It was instituted by our Lord before His Passion, as we learn from the third chapter of the Gospel of St. John. Baptism is divided into Baptism *fluminis*, *flaminis*, and *sanguinis*; yet the first only is the Sacrament, the others, in defect thereof, are sufficient for the justification of the sinner.

Yet beyond these cases, Baptism is necessary to salvation, *necessitate medii*.

The matter of Baptism is twofold, proximate and remote. The proximate matter is the ablution of the body, which should be such that it may be perceived that the water touches the body; this may be, either by immersion of any part of the body into water, or by the affusion of water on the body, or by the aspersion of sufficient water to wet the body. The remote matter is natural water, either cold or hot, or bitter or sweet, or rain or river, or well or spring, or bath or sea, or turbid or muddy, or sulphurous. Also melted snow or condensed steam are valid. But oil, any bodily excreta, wine, milk, juices, are invalid vehicles of the grace. Distilled water and broths are doubtful. Where from necessity baptism has been administered in doubtful material, it is best to rebaptize *conditionaliter*.

has ordinary jurisdiction. A deacon may baptize, by commission from the bishop, in defect of priests.

In case of necessity any one, having the use of reason, who baptizes with water in the name of the Holy Trinity, is accepted,—priest, deacon, layman, male, female, heretic, or excommunicate. Persons are not to be re-baptized who are baptized with the proper form and words by heretics, even by Calvinists who deny that Baptism remits sin, unless there be a doubt of the sufficiency of the administration. The Baptism of adults is properly in the hands of the Bishop, if he wills to do it solemnly, otherwise it belongs to the parish priest.

Priests of another parish baptizing against the will of the incumbent are to be severely punished, for usurping jurisdiction contrary to the mind of Christ.

One person ought to be baptized at a time, except in extreme necessity.

A parent ought not to baptize his child, except in case of necessity. No one can baptize himself.

Every man, and man only, while on earth is the subject of Baptism. Children, idiots, madmen, monsters are all subjects of Baptism. It is not the custom of the Church to baptize the children of unbelievers against the will of both their parents, but if one parent be Christian, or if there be the immediate approach of death, or if, arrived at the age of reason, they themselves require it, they may be baptized.

No moral disposition is required in children or idiots, but in adults to receive Baptism validly and fructuously are required three things, 1. The consent of the will; 2. Faith, at least actual; 3. Repentance.

The external confession of sin is not of necessity. (*Tract. de Sacr., ap. S. Ambr.*, 3, 2; S. Thos. 3ª. qu. 68, art. 6.) A dying man who has lost his senses may be baptized, if one only witness has heard him express the desire of it. A person coming to Baptism without faith or contrition receives the character of Baptism, for it is valid, but in his case for the time infructuous. He may, however, repent and believe, and then the Sacrament is not to be reiterated.

ARTICLE XXVIII.

De Cœna Domini.

Cœna Domini non est tantum signum mutuæ benevolentiæ Christianorum inter sese, verum potius est Sacramentum nostræ per mortem Christi redemptionis.

Atque adeo, rite, digne, et cum fide sumentibus, panis quem frangimus est communicatio corporis Christi: similiter poculum benedictionis est communicatio sanguinis Christi.

Panis et vini transubstantiatio in Eucharistia ex sacris literis probari non potest; sed apertis Scripturæ verbis adversatur, Sacramenti naturam evertit, et multarum superstitionum dedit occasionem.

Corpus Christi datur, accipitur, et manducatur in Cœna,

of bread and wine) in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by Holy Writ, but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions.

"The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the mean whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper, is faith.

"The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped."

1. The awful and tremendous mystery of the Sacrament of our Lord's most sacred Body and precious Blood, the holy of holies of the new law, the Shechinah of the Christian dispensation, is the subject of the Twenty-eighth Article. It begins by denying the low and grovelling conception of Zwingli, who maintained that the Supper was no more than a *tessera*, or sign of communion between man and man. Zwingli eliminated all supernatural influence from the act. In the plainest sense he taught an entire absence of spiritual grace. The Article also denies the doctrine of Œcolampadius, who saw nothing more in the Eucharist than a symbol whereby one is bound to sacrifice for one's neighbour, after the example of Jesus Christ, one's body and blood, as baptism is a sign by which one binds oneself to give up one's life for the faith which one professes. The Anabaptists also, seeking in their false enthusiasm to establish an abstract mo-

rality on the ruins of dogmatic faith, desired only to recognise in the Eucharist a symbol of the mutual devotion which Christians ought to have for each other.

2. The first positive statement of the Article is that it is "a Sacrament of our redemption by Christ's death." This is equivalent to the expression of Theodoret, *μυστήριον σωτήριον* [a], or to that used by St. Augustine on the occasion of his mother's death [b], *Sacramentum pretii nostri.*

"Insomuch as to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of Christ, and likewise the cup of blessing is a partaking (in the edition of 1553 'a communion') of the Blood of Christ." This expression, being the embodiment of Holy Scripture, must

'It is that which flowed from the side of Christ, and receiving of it we commemorate, that is, we are united to Christ. Are you not ashamed, O Corinthians, to return to the cup of idols, after that cup which hath delivered you from idols?'" St. Chrysostom also notes this difference: "Why said he not participation? Because he intended to express something more, and to point out how close are the unions; in that we commemorate not only by participating and partaking, but also by being united. For as that Body is united to Christ, so also are we united to Him by this Bread[c]." It will be seen, therefore, that the word "partaking" in the English translation is no adequate rendering of the Latin, which is the Scriptural *communicatio*.

This patristic explanation of the word *κοινωνία* disposes of the formula whereby Calvin endeavoured to steer a middle course between the Lutheran teaching on the one hand, and that of Zwingli and Œcolampadius on the other. He taught that the Body of Christ is truly present in the Lord's Supper, and that the believer partakes of it; but he only meant that simultaneously with the bodily participation of the material elements, which in every respect remained what they were, and merely signified the Body and the Blood, a power emanating from the Body of Christ, which is now in heaven only, is communicated to the Spirit. Framed originally under the pressure of the confusions among the Reformed, this middle opinion made its way among them, and included many of the Lutherans

[c] *Hom.* xxiv.; 1 Cor. x. 17.

themselves, as its advocates employed, without hesitation, the expression that Christ is really present in the Eucharist, and His Body and Blood given to believers for participation. In England, in consequence of the great authority of Richard Hooker, who, in the gradual process of working himself out of Puritanism, had on this mysterious doctrine attained to Catholic feeling, while he adhered to Calvinistic definition, this view has obtained to an extent remarkable in view of its intrinsic inanity. It does not satisfy the letter of Scripture, which distinctly predicates the affirmative proposition, "This *is* My Body." It contradicts the testimony of the primitive Church, as we shall presently proceed to shew from a long catena of autho-

sions of our Lord Himself, His holy Apostles, and the primitive Fathers, with such a view of the doctrine of the blessed Sacrament as practically amounts to the real absence of our Lord therefrom. A virtual Presence, as it is sometimes incorrectly called, means, when we examine it, a bestowal of the grace, efficacy, virtue, or influence of the atoning Death of our Lord. It supposes the bread and wine to be equivalents for the absent Body and Blood, so that to partake with faith of the former is virtually and in effect as though we partook of the latter. The very Body and very Blood are supposed to be absent. They are not actually "given" or "taken." They are neither present by consecration nor present in devout reception. Somewhat of this nature was that theory of a school of the Nonjurors, which owed its existence to John Johnson, the learned author of "The Unbloody Sacrifice." It was, that the Body of our Lord, which had been conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary, had ascended into heaven, there to remain till the restitution of all things; but that in the Divine mysteries, on consecration, the Holy Ghost descended upon the gifts of bread and wine, which had been offered in sacrifice to God, and joining Himself with them, made them the Body and Blood of Christ in power and efficacy.

Moreover, it is not said in the Article that we are partakers of Christ, or of a grace from Christ, but the Bread which we break, i.e. the Bread which has been blessed and consecrated by our Lord's words, "This is

My Body," through the operation of the Holy Ghost, is the communion or participation of the Body of Christ; and the Cup of Blessing, i.e. the Cup blessed by the words, "This is My Blood," is the partaking of or communication of the Blood of Christ.

In adducing the following passages from the Fathers, I would only premise that I have selected such passages as contain the doctrine of the Real Objective Presence, —I mean that the Body and Blood of Christ are so sacramentally present in, or under, the consecrated Bread and Wine, that the Fathers either called the whole, the outward and the inward part together, or even the outward part alone, by the name of the inward part, the Body and Blood of Christ. I have

account of the Christian worship to the Emperor:—"We do not receive it as *common* bread, or as *common* drink, but in what way Jesus Christ our Saviour, being through the Word of God Incarnate, had both flesh and blood for our salvation, so also have we been taught that *the Food, over which thanksgiving has been made* by the prayer of the word which is from Him (from which [food] our blood and flesh are, by transmutation, nourished), is the *Flesh and Blood of Him, the Incarnate Jesus.* For the Apostles, in their records which are called the Gospels, have delivered that Jesus so commanded them, that He, having taken bread and given thanks, said, 'Do this in remembrance of Me. This is My Body.' And, likewise, having taken the cup and given thanks, He said, 'This is My Blood[e].'"

St. Irenæus, who says that he remembers the times of his youth with Polycarp (the disciple of St. John) better than recent things, argues against the Gnostics:—"If the Lord belonged to another Father, how was it just that taking bread, of this our creation, He confessed that it was His own Body, and He affirmed that the mingled drink of the cup was His Own Blood[f]?"

In the Harmony ascribed to Tatian or Ammonius, the words of the Gospel are paraphrased thus:—"And then, having taken bread, and afterwards the cup of wine, He bare witness that it was His Body and Blood, and bade them eat and drink, for that it was a memorial of His coming suffering and death[g]."

[e] *Apol.*, i. § 66. [f] iv. 33, 2. [g] *Harm.* iv. *Evang.*, Bibl. Patr., ii. P. ii. p. 210, A.

Tertullian, on whose antiquity the Homily lays such stress, speaks to this effect:—"The zeal of Faith might speak on this head all the day long, mourning that the Christian should come from the idols into the Church . . . that *he should approach those hands to the Body of the Lord*, which bestowed bodies on demons. Nor is this enough. It were a small matter that they should receive from other hands that which they defile, but they themselves also deliver to others that which they have defiled. Makers of idols are chosen into the ministry of the Church. Horrid sin! The Jews laid violent hands but once upon Christ; *these every day assault His Body*. O, hands worthy of being cut off! Let them now consider whether it were said only in

the two great Sacraments, and affirms only what all Catholic Christians must hold in common, the Real Objective Presence. "Quam valida vero ad catholicam veritatem stabiliendam et ad hæreticam pravitatem de Christo Deo, de divina Sacramentorum dignitate, profligandam, testimonia suppeditet non sine summa voluptate videmus. Et hanc priorem inscriptionis partem antiquitus in marmore extitisse . . . pro comperto habeo." Dr. Wordsworth does not say anything about the definite date of the inscription, but he believes it to be ancient, "antiquitus." The lines relating to the Holy Eucharist are:—"Receive the honey-sweet [food] of the holy things of the Saviour;" or, as others, "of the Saviour of the holy." "Eat, drink, having Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Saviour, in thy hands." The well-known anagram *IXΘΥΣ* occurs at this same time, both in the Greek and Latin Church; in the Greek, in a hymn ascribed to St. Clement of Alexandria; in the Latin, in Tertullian. In St. Clement of Alexandria, as well as in this inscription, it is used in reference to the Eucharist[k]. It occurs in the recently discovered works attributed to St. Melito. It occurs also in Origen, St. Hilary, St. Ambrose, St. Optatus, Severian, Bishop of Gabala, the rival and enemy of St. Chrysostom, Sedulius, St. Paulinus, St. Augustine, St. Peter Chrysologus, St. Prosper, the African author of the *De Promiss. Dei*, and St. Cyril of Alexandria[l]. There can neither be a simpler nor a fuller statement

[k] See Dr. Pusey, Real Presence, p. 338, note.

[l] See the passages collected in *Spicil. Solesm.*, t. iii. p. 527.

of the Objective Presence of our Lord, God and Man, in the Holy Eucharist, received in the hands to be food to the faithful than in this inscription, which the Providence of God has brought to light.

Author of the *Carmina adv. Marcion* [m] :—"From what creation suppose ye the Bread and Wine are, and must be confessed to be, His Body and Blood? Proved not He Himself the Maker of the world by deeds? And, at the same time, that He bare a Body of Flesh and Blood?"

Origen:—"We, rendering thanks (*εὐχαριστοῦντες*) to the Creator of the universe, eat the Bread, offered with thanksgiving (*εὐχαριστίας*) and prayer over the things offered, which [bread] becometh, for the prayer's

St. Dionysius the Great, of Alexandria, who was consulted in most questions of moment by other Churches:—"For I could not venture to renew from the beginning (i. e., to re-baptize) one who had heard the Eucharist, and joined in answering the Amen, and stood by the table, and stretched forth his hands to receive the Holy Food, and had received it, and for a long while had partaken of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ[p]." "For I do not think that women, who are faithful and devout, would venture, in such a state, to approach the Holy Table, or to touch the Body and Blood of Christ[q]."

St. Cyprian:—"For how do we teach or provoke them to shed their blood in confession of the name, if, when about to engage, we deny them the Blood of Christ[r]." "Let us also arm the right hand with the 'sword of the Spirit,' that it may boldly reject the deadly sacrifices, that, mindful of the Eucharist, the hand which has received the Lord's Body, may embrace the Lord Himself, from Him to receive hereafter the reward of heavenly crowns[s]." "Those mouths sanctified by heavenly food, after the Body and Blood of the Lord, loathed the profane contagion, and the relics of idol feasts[t]." "A violence is offered to His Body and Blood, and they sin more now against the Lord with hand and mouth, than when they were denying Him[u]."

[p] Euseb. H. E. vii. 9.
[q] *Ep. ad Basilid.*, can. 2. p. 114.
[r] *Ep.* lvii. *ad Cornel.*
[s] *Ep.* lviii. *ad Thibarit.*, § 10.
[t] *De Lapsis*, § 2, p. 154, Oxf. Tr.
[u] Ibid., 11, p. 163.

See how St. Dionysius the Great, Origen, St. Cyprian, agree with the Inscription of Autun in speaking of communicants as having in their hands "the Body of Christ."

Magnes:—"For it is not a type of the Body, nor a type of the Blood, *as some have blindly and idly said*, but is in truth the Body and Blood of Christ[x]."

"Through that union whereby I am united, the Holy with the earthly, I give Bread and Wine, commanding them to be My Body and Blood[y]."

Hipparchus and Philotheus, martyrs in the persecution of Maximian, about A.D. 297:—"Three years have now passed since we received Baptism in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,

St. James of Nisibis (one of the foremost of the Nicene Fathers, who had the gifts of miracles and prophecy) :—"Abstain thou from all uncleanness, and then receive the Body and Blood of Christ, and carefully guard thy mouth, through which the King hath entered; nor mayest thou, O man, any more bring forth through thy mouth words of uncleanness[b]." "From that place where He kept the Passover, and gave His Body that they should eat, and His Blood that they should drink, He went away and departed thither with His disciples, where they took Him. When then His Body was eaten, and His Blood drunk, He was 'counted among the dead.' For our Lord with His own hands gave His Body for food, and when He was not yet crucified He gave His Blood for drink[c]." "When He had washed His disciples' feet, He sat down at the table, and then gave them His Body and Blood[d]."

St. Athanasius:—"Thou wilt see the Levites (deacons) bearing bread and a cup of wine, and placing them on the table; and so long as the supplications and prayers have not yet taken place, *bare* (ψιλός) is the bread and the cup; but when the great and wonderful prayers have been completed over it, then the Bread becometh the Body, the Cup the Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ[e]." "Let us come to the consecration of the mysteries. This bread and this cup, so

[b] *Serm.* iii. § 2, p. 46, ed. Rom. [c] *Serm.* xiv. *de Pasch.*, § 4, p. 341. [d] Ibid., p. 346. [e] *Serm. ad Baptizat. ap. Eutych. de Pasch. Maii Scriptt. Vett.*, ix. 625.

long as the prayers and supplications have not yet taken place, are *bare* elements, but when the great prayers and holy supplications have been sent up, the word cometh down into the bread and cup, and it becometh His Body[t]."

Juvencus, a Spanish poet about A.D. 330, thus paraphrases the history of the institution of the Lord's Supper:—"When He said these things, He brake the Bread with His hands, and being broken He gave it to them, and having holily prayed, He taught His disciples that He gave them His own Body." "Then the Lord taketh the cup, and it being filled with wine, He sanctifieth It with mighty words, and giveth It them to drink, and taught them that He had di-

worship[i]." "For to you only it appertains to have the first taste of the Blood of Christ, and to none besides. But as he who breaks a sacred cup is an impious person, much more impious is he who insults the Blood of Christ[k]."

Julius Firmicus:—"We drink the immortal blood of Christ; to our blood is the Blood of Christ united; this is the healthful remedy for thy wickedness[l]."

St. Thecla, Maria, Martha, Maria, Ami, Persian martyrs under Sapor, A.D. 337, to the apostate priest, who, with a drawn sword, endeavoured to make them apostatize:—"Is this that holy propitiatory Thing which we received from thy hands? Is this the life-giving Blood which thou usedst to bring near to our mouths[m]?"

St. Hilary:—"If the Word was truly made Flesh, and we, through the food of the Lord, truly receive the Word made Flesh, how must He not be thought to abide in us by the way of nature, Who, being born Man, took to Himself the nature of our Flesh, now inseparable from Him, and, *under the sacrament* of the Flesh to be communicated to us, hath mingled the nature of His own Flesh with His Eternal Nature[n]." "Was He unwilling to suffer? but, before, He had consecrated the Blood of His own Body, which was to be shed for the remission of sins[o]." "What

[i] *S. Ath. Apol. c. Arian.*, init. p. 14, O. T. [k] *In S. Ath. Apol. ag. Ar.*, § 6, p. 20, O. T. [l] *De err. Prof. relig.*, p. 44. [m] *In S. Maruthas, Assem. Acta Mart.*, i. 125. [n] *De Trin.*, viii. 13. [o] *In Matt.*, c. 31, § 7.

frenzy didst thou exercise against the Church of Thoulouse? The clergy were beaten with clubs; the Deacons were crushed with boxing-gloves armed with lead; and on Himself, as the holy will understand, on Christ Himself hands were laid [p]."

Arian Council at Philippopolis:—"Presbyters were dragged naked by him to the market-place, and (what must be said with tears and grief) he openly and publicly profaned the *consecrated Body of the Lord*, hung to the necks of the priests [q]." It is to be observed that they use the same phrase as Eusebius. It was then probably a received phrase. But to speak of the "consecrated Body of the Lord," must mean that that of which he speaks became such by consecration.

have imitated the Jews; they laid their hands on Christ on the Cross; by you He was smitten on the Altar[v]." "This great crime has been doubled by you, in that ye brake the chalices too, which bear the Blood of Christ[x]."

St. Ephrem:—"'Standing on their feet!' because one sitting may not receive the living Body; 'and no stranger shall eat thereof,' because no one unbaptized eateth of the Body[y]." "This was fulfilled in our Lord, when in the Mount of Jerusalem He brake His Body and divided His Blood, and said, 'This ye shall do for a remembrance of Me[z].'" "Thou wilt not burn the hand which received a portion of Thy holy Body, together with the hand which smote Thee on Thy cheek, Thee, the Creator. The mouth which ate Thee will not howl, together with the mouth which spat on Thee, on Thy face[a]." "Whom Thou hast made meet to administer in the Sanctuary, and to distribute Thy Body and Thy Blood to Thy flock, may his pasture be with Thy lambs[b]." "He brake His Body before thee, and mingled His Blood and gave it thee[c]."

St. Basil:—"Thou introducest higgling into spiritual things and the Church, where we are entrusted with the Body and Blood of Christ[d]." "Let him not bless either publicly or privately, nor distribute the

[v] Ibid., p. 91. [x] Ibid., c. 2, p. 92. [y] On Exod. xii. t. i. p. 213. [z] In Isa. xxv. 26, t. ii. p. 61. [a] *Cas.* 12, t. iii. p. 246. [b] *Cas.* 13, p. 247. [c] *Paræn.*, 16, p. 439. [d] *Ep.* liii. *Chorepisc.*, § 1, iii. 147.

Body of Christ to others, nor perform any liturgical office; but, satisfied with his rank, let him weep before the Lord, that his sin of ignorance may be forgiven him[e]."

St. Gregory of Nyssa:—"Wherefore also He who ever *is*, sets Himself before us as Food, that we receiving Him in ourselves, may become that which He is[f]." The Bread, again, is up to a certain time *common* bread, but when the mystery shall consecrate it, it is called and becomes the Body of Christ[g]. "Well do I believe that now, too, the bread, sanctified by the Word of God, is trans-made (*μεταποιεῖσθαι*) into the Body of God, the Word[h]." "For both there [in the Lord's Natural Body] the grace of the Word hallowed that

"And thou, wretched man, wilt thou boldly receive
In thy palms the Mystic Food, or God embrace
With hands, wherewith thou hast dug up my grave[m]."

Cæsarius (brother of St. Gregory of Nazianzum):—"He trampleth under foot God the Word, the Son of God, who, in covetous hands lifted up against his neighbour, receiveth fearlessly the Sacramental elements, accounting them like *common* bread and wine, which, in the eyes of the faithful mind, are contemplated, God[n]."

"And yet we believe the Divine Revelation, that not as being equal or like, yet that still properly and fitly, It is the Divine Body which is consecrated on the holy Table, and is indivisibly distributed to the whole sacred band, and partaken of without ceasing to be[o]."

St. Amphilochius (friend of St. Basil and St. Gregory of Nazianzum):—"He, the Father, is both greater and equal, greater than He who receives vinegar to drink, equal to Him who poureth out as wine His own proper blood, *τοῦ τὸ οἰκεῖον οἰνοχοοῦντος αἷμα*[p]."

Esaias Abbas:—"If thou willest to take the Body of Christ, take heed that there be no anger or hatred in thy heart against any one[q]."

St. Ambrose:—"So often as we receive the Sacraments, which by the mystery of the sacred prayer are transfigured into Body and Blood, we shew forth the

[m] *Carm.*, l. ii. § 2, Epigr. 69. [n] *Interrog.* 140, *Dial.* 3; *Gall.* vi. 98. [o] Ibid., *Int.*, pp. 127, 169. [p] *Serm. adv. Arian. in Maii Script. Vett.*, iv. p. 10. [q] *Reg. ad Monach.*, 50.

death of the Lord[r]." "What more noble than Christ, who in the Feast of the Church both ministers and is ministered[s]?" "Where His Body is, there is Christ[t]." "And in the ministering of the Apostles is set forth the future distribution of the Body and Blood of the Lord[u]." "Where Christ, the Head of all, is daily consecrated[v]." "At the same time, it is shewn what sort of person he ought to be who ministereth to Christ. For, first of all, he must be free from the allurements of various pleasures, shun inward drowsiness of mind and body, that he may administer the Body and Blood of Christ. See what thou doest, O priest, and touch not with feverish hand the Body of Christ[x]." "How in such hands wilt thou receive the all-holy

manded, and they were created.' The word of Christ, then, which could make of nothing what (as yet) was not, cannot it change the things which are into that which they were not? For it is not a less thing to give new natures to things, than to change natures. But why use we arguments? Let us use His own example, and build up the truth of the mystery by the example of the Incarnation. Did the wont of nature precede, when the Lord Jesus was born of a Virgin? If we inquire for the order of nature, woman united with man was wont to bear. And this Body which we consecrate is from the Virgin. Why inquirest thou here for the order of nature in the Body of Christ, when, against nature, the Lord Jesus Himself was born of a Virgin? True is the Flesh of Christ, which was crucified, which was buried; true therefore is the Sacrament of that Flesh. The Lord Jesus Himself declares, 'This is My Body.' Before the blessing of the heavenly words, another kind is named; after the consecration the Body is *signified*. He Himself saith, it is His Blood. Before consecration it is called other; after the consecration it is named Blood. And thou sayest, Amen, i.e. it is true; what the mouth speaketh, let the inward mind confess; what the speech uttereth, let the affection feel[z]." "In that Sacrament Christ is: because it is the Body of Christ; it is not therefore bodily food, but spiritual. Whence, too, the Apostle saith of its type:—'Our fathers did eat spiritual meat, and did drink spiritual

[z] *De Myster.*, §§ 52—54.

drink.' For the Body of God is a spiritual Body; the Body of Christ is the Body of the Divine Spirit [a]."

Author of the *De Sacramentis* (a Bishop, and probably a disciple of St. Ambrose): — "The Altar is a figure of the Body, and the Body of Christ is on the Altar [b]." "You say, perhaps, 'my bread is common bread.' But that bread is bread before the words of the Sacraments; when the consecration is added, from bread it becomes the Flesh of Christ. How can that which *is* bread, *be* the Body of Christ? By Consecration. And the Consecration, in whose words is it? The Lord Jesus'. For all the rest which had been said before is said by the priest; praises are offered to God; prayer is made for the people, for kings, for the

answer thee, it was not the Body of Christ before the Consecration, but after the Consecration I say to thee that now it is the Body of Christ—'He spake, and it was made; He commanded, and it was created.' Before it is consecrated, it is bread; when the words of Christ are added, it is the Body of Christ. Then hear Himself saying—'Take and eat ye all of this, for this is My Body.' And before the words of Christ, it is a cup, full of wine and water; when the words of Christ have operated, the Blood of Christ is caused to be there, which redeemed His people [b]." "So, then, not idly dost thou say, Amen, already thereby confessing in spirit that thou receivest the Body of Christ. The priest saith to thee—'The Body of Christ,' and thou sayest, Amen, i.e. true [c]."

St. Jerome:—"God forbid that I should speak anything unfavourable of these; for, succeeding to the Apostolic rank, with holy mouths they make Christ's Body, through whom also we are Christians [d]." "But let us hear that the bread which the Lord brake and gave to His disciples was the Body of the Lord our Saviour, since He Himself said to them, 'Take, eat; this is My Body;' and that the cup was that of which He said again, 'Drink ye all of this; for this is My Blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many.' That is the cup of which we read in the Prophet—'I will receive the cup of salvation.' And in another place—'Thine inebriating cup, how good is it!' If,

[b] Ibid., c. iv. § 14, 15; c. v. § 23; § 25. [c] iv. 2, § 7.
[d] *Ep.* xiv. *ad Heliod.*, § 8; comp. Hooker, v. 77, 2.

then, 'the bread which came down from Heaven' is the Lord's Body; and 'the wine which He gave to His disciples is the Blood of the New Testament, which was shed for many for the remission of sins[d],'" &c. "Nought richer than he who carries the Body of the Lord in a wicker basket, His Blood in a glass[e]." "What ails the minister of tables and of widows (the deacon), that he swells and lifts himself up above those (bishops and priests) at whose prayers the Body and Blood of Christ is made[f]?"

Luciferian, quoted by St. Jerome:—*Lucif.* "It is not the same thing to shed tears for sins, and to handle the Body of the Lord. It is not the same thing to fall at the feet of the brethren, and from on high

lest the Body of Christ also should be subject to vanity, through the eating whereof we, being satiated, daily ruminate on His words, 'Unless a man eat My Flesh, and drink My Blood, he has no part in Me[i].'"

St. Gaudentius, of Brescia:—"Himself then the Creator and Lord of Nature, who 'bringeth forth bread from the earth,' of bread again (for He both can, and hath promised), makes His Own Body; and He who of water made wine, makes also wine of His Own Blood[k]." "That you may not think *that* to be earthly, which has been made heavenly through Him who passeth into it, and made it His Body and Blood." "When He reached forth the consecrated Bread and Wine to His disciples, He said, 'This is My Body; this is My Blood.' Let us believe Him Whom we have believed. Truth cannot lie."... "But that He appointed the Sacraments of His Body and Blood to be offered in the form of Bread and Wine, there is a twofold reason[l]."

St. Isaac the Great:—"I beheld that her cup was mingled, and instead of wine it was full of Blood, and instead of bread, a Body was placed for her in the midst of her table. I saw the Blood and trembled; and the Body, and fear seized me; and she [Faith] made a sign to me, 'Eat, and be silent; drink, child, and scrutinize not.' ... She shewed me a Body slain, and placed thereof between my lips, and cried to me sweetly, 'See what it is thou art eating.' She gave

[i] *Epist. Pasch.*, A. 401, § 11; *ap. S. Jerome, Ep.* xcvi. i. 564.
[k] *De Pasch.*, tr. ii. B. P. v. p. 946. [l] Ibid., p. 947.

the pen of the Spirit, and bade me subscribe; and I took, I wrote, and I confessed, 'This is the Body of God[m].'"

St. Paulinus, of Nola, friend of St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, wrote as part of an inscription for an altar, under which a piece of the Cross was to be placed :—

"Cuncta salutiferi coeunt martyria Christi,
Crux, Corpus, Sanguis, martyris ipse Deus."

St. Maruthas (a very great man, a friend of St. Chrysostom) :—"Now as often as we approach to the Body and Blood, and take It in our hands, we believe that we embrace the Body, and that we are of His Flesh

Augustine:—"For on this account it seemed good to the Holy Spirit, namely, that for the honour of so great a Sacrament, the Lord's Body should enter the mouth of a Christian previously to other food[p]." "And when the Apostle said this, the discourse was upon the subject of those who, treating the Lord's Body like any other food, took it in an undiscriminating and negligent way. If, then, this man is rebuked who does not discriminate, that is, see the difference of, the Lord's Body from other meats, how must he be damned, who, feigning himself a friend, comes to His Table a foe[q]!" "Christ was carried in His Own Hands, when commending His Own Body, He said, 'This is My Body.' For that Body He carried in His Own Hands[r]." "That Bread which ye see on the Altar, sanctified by the Word of God, is the Body of Christ. That Cup, rather what the Cup holds, sanctified by the Word of God, is the Blood of Christ[s]." "For the Blood of Christ hath a loud voice on earth, when, on receiving It, all nations answer, Amen[t]."

St. Chrysostom:—"O marvel! O love of God for man! He who sitteth aloft with the Father, is at that hour held in the hands of all, and giveth Himself to those who will, to enfold and embrace[u]." "For when they were eating and drinking, He took bread, brake it, and said, 'This is My Body which is broken for

[p] *Ep.* liv. *ad Januar.*, § 8. [q] *In S. Joh., Hom.* lxii. § 1. [r] *In Ps.* xxxiii. [xxxiv.] *Serm.* i. n. 10. [s] *Serm.* 227, *in Die Pasch.*, iv. [t] *Cont. Faust.*, xii. 10, t. viii. p. 231. [u] *De Sacerdot.*, iii. 5, i. 382.

you for the remission of sins.' The initiated know what I mean: and again, the Cup, saying, 'This is My Blood, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.' And Judas was present when Christ said this. This is the Body which thou, O Judas, didst sell for thirty pieces of silver; this is the Blood for which, a little before, thou madest that shameless compact with the reckless Pharisees[x]." "The same who adorned that Table, adorneth this too now. For it is not man who maketh what lieth there to become the Body and Blood of Christ, but Christ Himself who was crucified for us[y]." "For indeed His Body is set before us now; not His garment only, but even His Body; not for us to touch It only, but also to eat, and be

"That Table at that time was not of silver, nor that cup of gold, out of which Christ gave His disciples His Own Blood: but precious was everything there, and awful, for that they were full of the Spirit[a]." "Purer than what sunbeam should not that hand be, which is to sever this Flesh, the mouth that is filled with spiritual fire, the tongue that is reddened by that most awful Blood[b]?" "I would give up my life rather than impart of the Lord's Blood to the unworthy; and will shed my own blood rather than impart of such awful Blood contrary to what is meet[c]." "I say now, if even a man's garment be what one would not venture inconsiderately to touch, what shall we say of the Body of Him who is God over all, spotless, pure, associate with that Divine Nature, the Body whereby we are, and live; whereby the gates of hell were broken down, and the sanctuaries of Heaven opened? How shall we receive This with so great insolence? Let us not, I pray you, let us not slay ourselves by our irreverence, but with all awfulness and purity let us draw nigh to It; and when thou seest It set before thee, say thou to thyself, 'Because of this Body am I no longer earth and ashes, no longer a prisoner but free; because of This I hope for heaven, and to receive the good things therein, immortal life, the portion of angels, converse with Christ; this Body, nailed and scourged, was more than death could stand against; this Body the very sun saw crucified, and turned aside his beams; for This, both the veil was rent in that

[a] Ibid., § 3. [b] *Hom.* lxxxii. § 5. [c] Ibid., § 6.

moment, and rocks were burst asunder, and all the earth was shaken. This is even that Body, the blood-stained, the smitten, out of which gushed the saving fountains, the one of blood, the other of water, for all the world[d].'" "And these things thou doest when thou hast enjoyed the Table of Christ, on that day on which thou hast been counted worthy to touch His Flesh with thy tongue. Whosoever thou art then, that those things be not so, do thou purify thy right hand, thy tongue, thy lips, which have become a threshold for Christ to tread upon[e]." "For it is in no common manner that our lips are honoured when they receive the Lord's Body[f]." "And then, thus scrupulous as thou art in this little matter, dost thou come with soiled soul, and thus dare to touch It? And yet the hands hold It but for a time, whereas into the soul It is received entirely[g]."

Council of Carthage (under Aurelius), A.D. 398 or 401:—"That if need compel, the Deacon may, in the presence of the Presbyter, at his bidding, deliver to the people the Eucharist of the Body of Christ[h]."

Philo Carpasius, of Cyprus, A.D. 401:—"These (the deacons) bear the Body of Christ and His Blood, the Head of the Church[i]."

Apostolical Constitutions, doubless a very ancient and authoritative work[j]:—"Those who bestow upon

[d] In 1 Cor. x. 16, *Hom.* xxiv. § 7.
[e] *Hom.* xxvii. § 7.
[f] *Hom.* xxx., 2 Cor. xiii. 12.
[g] On Ephes. i., *Hom.* iii.
[h] c. 38.
[i] *In Cant.*, c. 37.
[j] See Dr. Pusey on the Real Presence, pp. 605—8.

you the Saving Body and the Precious Blood[k]." "Let the Deacons after the prayer, some attend exclusively to the offering of the Eucharist, ministering to the Lord's Body with fear[l]."

St. Cyril, of Alexandria:—"What is the cause and efficacy of the mystical Eucharist? Why do we receive It within us? Is it not that It may make Christ to dwell in us corporeally also by participation and communion of His Holy Flesh[m]." "We shut to the doors, and Christ appeareth to us all visibly and invisibly—invisibly as God, and visibly again in the Body, and He permitteth and giveth us to touch His Holy Flesh. For according to the grace of God, we approach to the participation of the mystical Eucharist, receiving Christ in our hands, that we too may firmly believe that He hath truly raised His own Temple[n]." "If any one should dare to say that the Word of God was transformed into the nature of the Body, one might very reasonably object to him, that He, on giving His Body, did not rather say, 'Take, eat, this is My Divinity which was broken for you,' and 'This is—not My Blood, but rather—My Divinity, which is shed for you.' But since the Word, being God, hath made the Body, born of a woman, His Own, without undergoing any alteration or change, how was it not right and true that He said to us, 'Take, eat, this is My Body?' For being Life, as God, He made it both Life and Life-giving[o]." "I hear that

[k] ii. 33. [l] l. ii. c. 57. [m] On St. John xv. 1, l. x. c. 2.
[n] Ibid., in xx. 16. [o] *Adv. Nest.*, iv. 5. t. vi. pp. 118, 119.

they say that the mystic Eucharist is unavailing for blessing, if a portion of it remain to the next day. They are mad who say this. For Christ is not altered, nor shall His Holy Body be changed; but the power of the Eucharist and the life-giving grace is abiding in it [p]."

St. Isidore, of Pelusium:—"If our God and Saviour, being made Man, gave the Holy Ghost to be the completion of the Divine Trinity, both as being, in the invocation of Holy Baptism, numbered together with the Father and the Son as freeing from sins, and as, upon the Mystical Table, making the common bread the Very Body of His own Incarnation [q]," &c. "The fine linen that is spread out underneath the ministry

tributed to the faithful by the priests in the churches, two bodies." Thus he asserts the identity of the Body of Christ in heaven and on the altar, and yet, in that he speaks of the antitypes, distinguishes the outward and inward parts.

Paulinus, the Deacon:—"Honoratus also, priest of the Church at Vercellæ, when he had laid himself down to rest in the upper part of the house, heard three times the voice of one calling him, and saying to him: 'Arise, make haste, for he is now about to depart.' He, going down stairs, offered to the Saint the Body of the Lord[s]."

Eusebius, of Alexandria:—"Be early then in the Church of God, approach the Lord, confess to Him thy sins, repent with prayer and a broken heart, abide during the Divine and Holy Eucharistic service, complete thy prayer, on no account leaving before the dismissal. Behold thy Lord, divided in pieces and distributed and not expended; and if thou hast thy conscience clean, approach and communicate of the Body and Blood[t]."

St. Maximus, of Turin:—"Fitly then, and as though for a sort of fellowship, was it appointed that the martyrs should be buried *there*, where the Lord's death is daily celebrated, as He Himself saith: 'As often as ye do this, ye do shew forth My death, till I come.' So should they who died for His Death rest under

[s] *Vita S. Ambrosii*, n. 47, *ap. S. Ambrosii* Opp. t. ii., App. p. xii.

[t] *Orat. de Die Dom. init.*, Gall. viii. 252, about A.D. 444.—See for an account of this Father, Dr. Pusey, Real Presence, pp. 449, 450.

the mystery of His Sacrament. Fitly, I say, and as though for a sort of fellowship, is the tomb of him who was slain placed *there*, where the Lord's slain Body is placed, that they whom the cause of one suffering had bound with Christ, the sanctity of one place might unite [u]."

Theodoret :—"Do not we, enjoying the holy Mysteries, communicate with the Lord Himself, whose Body and Blood we say they are? For we are all partakers of that one Bread. How can we communicate with the Lord through His precious Body and Blood, and again with devils through meat offered to idols [v]?"

As the "meat offered to idols" is something orally received, "*through* which" idolaters communicated with

Theodotus, of Ancyra (he took a prominent part against Nestorius in the Council of Ephesus):—"He who then drew the Magi with unspeakable might to holiness, hath now also to-day gathered together this joyous assembly: He, no longer laid in the manger, but lying on this saving Table. For that manger was the mother of this Table. For that cause did He lie in that [manger], that on this [table] He might be eaten, and might to the faithful become Saving Food [z]."

St. Peter Chrysologus:—"The woman touched His raiment, and was healed, and was freed from her long weakness. Wretched we, who daily handle and receive the Body of the Lord, and are not healed of our wounds [a]." "Let Christians, who daily touch the Body of Christ, hear how much medicine they can take from the Body Itself, when the woman seized all her health from the hem only of Christ [b]." "Himself is the Bread, which, sown in the Virgin, leavened in the Flesh, kneaded in His Passion, baked in the furnace of the Sepulchre, laid up in Churches, placed on the altars, provides heavenly Food daily for the faithful [c]." "He is Himself the Bread which cometh down from Heaven: which is daily brought to the Table of the Church for heavenly Food: which is broken for the forgiveness of sins, which feeds and nourishes them who eat It to life everlasting: this Bread we daily ask to be given to us, until we enjoy

[z] *Hom. in Nativ. Dom. in Conc. Eph.*, p. 3, c. 9.
[a] *Serm.* 33. [b] Ibid. 34. [c] Ibid. 67.

It wholly in that endless day[d]." "He transmitted His Body to the Table of the Church, that It might be heavenly Flesh for the nations to eat unto salvation[e]." "I grieve, truly do I grieve, when I see that the Magi poured gold around the cradle of Christ, and I see that Christians have left empty the Altar of the Body of Christ[f]."

St. Proclus:—"By such prayers then they looked for the descent of the Holy Ghost, that by His Divine Presence, He might make and declare the Bread offered for sacrifice, and the wine mingled with water, that very Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ; which takes place no less even until now, and shall take place unto the end of the world[g]."

St. Nilus:—"A leaf of paper made of papyrus and size, is called mere (ψιλὸς) paper, but when it receives the signature of the Emperor, it is (as is well known) called Sacra. So conceive with me also of the Divine Mysteries, that before the Intercession of the Priest, and the descent of the Holy Ghost, the oblations are *mere* (ψιλὸν) bread and *common* (κοινὸν) wine; but that, after those dread invocations, and the coming of the Adorable, Good, and Life-giving Spirit, the Oblations, laid on the Holy Table, are no more *mere* (ψιλὸν) bread and *common* (κοινὸν) wine, but the Precious and Immaculate Body and Blood of Christ, the God of all, 'purifying from all iniquity' those who communicate with fear and great longing[k]." "Then [the Angels] dispersed hither and thither over the whole holy House, co-operating, each of them, with the Bishops, Priests, and all the Deacons, there present, who were administering the Body and venerable Blood, they aided and strengthened them[l]." "Let us not approach to that Mystic Bread, as to *mere bread* (ψιλῷ ἄρτῳ). For It is the Flesh of God; Flesh Venerable, and Adorable, and Life-giving. For It quickens men dead in sins[m]."

St. James, of Sarug:—"From what time He took it [the bread] and called it His Body, it was not bread, but His Body, and they ate it, marvelling; eating His Body, and He lay with them at the table, and drinking His Blood, and hearing the

[k] l. i. *Ep.* 44. [l] l. ii. *Ep.* 294. [m] l. iii. *Ep.* 39.

voice of His teaching[n]." Again, on the Real Presence:—"Our Lord divided His Body with His own Hands at the table, and who dareth to say now that it was not His Body? He said, 'This is My Body,' and who averreth it not? If any aver it not, he is no disciple of the Apostolate. The Apostles averred it, and while He was alive, and lay at table with Him, they ate Him." He adds the reason:—"Faith stoops not to questionings. She knows how to accredit: to scrutinize she never learnt. The chosen disciples were anxious to hold true what the Son said; not, to scrutinize or ask as shameless ones. The bread which He brake, and called His Body, they knew to be His Body: and so they accounted it, as if in very deed

on the cross be the Objective Atonement, Christ in the Holy Mysteries rightly, worthily, and with faith received is its subjective appropriation. The importance of these words cannot be exaggerated. First, the sacrament must be received *ritè*, all that the Church requires in the way of previous preparation of repentance, according to the present discipline of the Church, must be gone through. "Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread." He must interpose between his sins and the Holy Mysteries such means as the Church has laid down in different times, to secure a prosperous approach. This has varied in different times. The penitential Canons shew this in the early Church; in the modern Roman and Greek Church alike auricular confession is obligatory before Communion in case of every mortal sin; whereas the Anglican Church admits all on contrition, with the practice of confession in case of an unquiet conscience, and of consequent scruple or doubtfulness, viz. whether a person should or should not communicate.

And next it must be received *dignè*. This applies to the inward disposition of the heart. Not till a man is really contrite for his sins is he justified in approaching the Lord's Body. Confession and absolution without a hearty sorrow for sin, springing, at least, from detestation of its foulness, will not avail to destroy the past. We must repent for the love of Jesus, because we have offended the kindest and tenderest of friends, the Spouse and Lover of our immortal souls. Charity is the form of contrition. The supernatural love of

God is that which gives life to the sorrow for the past, which otherwise would work death, as the Apostle bears witness. Hence true sorrow for sin is lifelong, and hence, in spite of the fullest faith in the ordinances of grace and the fulfilment of the Lord's promises, the cry of the penitent Christian is still "Amplius lava me ab iniquitate meâ," and he dies crying to his Master, "Dimitte nobis debita nostra."

The question of "with faith" shall be treated more at length as we proceed in considering the Article.

The doctrine of the real objective Presence being certainly true, as being contained in our Blessed Lord's own words, "This is My Body;" and attested by the whole Christian Church from the times of the Apostles [q],

rare words, occurring once or twice only in each father who used them, "transmake," "transelement," "transfashion," "re-order," "transfigure," "transfer[t]."

Against any of these, the English Church has never made any exception; but only to a specified sense of the word "transubstantiate," which is popularly taken, not as implying a change in the *οὐσία*, or "essence," of a material thing, but the desition of the material substances of which that creature of God is composed. The word, "substance," "substantially," came to have stress laid upon it through the heresy of Berenger. That talented, bountiful, but vain-glorious and dishonest man, used the terms of the Church in an unreal sense. He made no difficulty in professing that "the Bread of the Altar, after consecration, is the very Body of Christ, which was born of the Virgin, which suffered on the Cross, which sitteth at the right hand of the Father; and the Wine of the Altar, after it is consecrated, is the true Blood, which flowed from the side of Christ[u]." But he meant, (as he explains him-

[t] *μεταποιέω*, once by St. Gregory of Nyssa, and once by Theodoret, translating St. Ambrose; *μεταστοιχειόω* once in the same passage of St. Greg. Nyss.; *μεταρρυθμίζω* and *μετασκευάζω*, each once by St. Chrysostom; "transfiguro" twice by St. Ambrose; "transfero" in the Gallican Sacramentary.

[u] This was in the Council of Lateran, 1078. (See Martene and Durand, *Thes. Nov. Anecd.*, iv. 103.) Berenger states that the confession was accepted by Gregory VI., as clearing him from heresy at a convention of Bishops, on All Saints' Day [A.D. 1078]; that in a Council in the following Lent this amended form was substituted: "I believe in my heart and confess with my mouth, that the Bread and Wine, which are placed on the Altar, are, by the mystery of holy prayer and by the words of our Redeemer, substantially converted into

self,) only by representation [x]; he assailed impetuously the belief, that the Body of Christ, which is at the

the true and proper and life-giving Body and Blood of Jesus Christ our Lord; and are, after consecration, the true Body of Christ, which was born of a Virgin, and which, offered for the salvation of the world, hung upon the Cross, and which sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and the true Blood of Christ, which was shed from His side, not only by the sign and virtue of the Sacrament, but in its own proper nature, and the truth of its substance." (Ib. 104.) Berenger, after explaining these words away in his own fashion, says that he declined accepting them as an exposition of his meaning, understanding that the Pope was satisfied with his own statement, but that finding he was required to own, and "did own, prostrate on the ground, that" he "had up to that time erred, in that when" he "said of the sacrifice of the Church, that 'the Bread and Wine consecrated on the altar are the Body and Blood of Christ,'" he "had not added, 'substantially.'" This he recanted. (Ib., pp. 108, 109.)

[x] The following statements, from his second answer to Lanfranc

right hand of God, is brought down thence so as to be present here[y]. He rejects contemptuously the belief of

"Christ the Lord requires of thee, that thou shouldest believe that by His most pitying love towards the human race, it was wrought that He shed His Blood, and, *by so believing*, shouldest wash thee from all sin by His Blood (*sanguine* for *sanguinem*); He requires that, *having ever in memory that same Blood of Christ*, thou shouldest place the life of thy inner self in it, as a *viaticum* to accomplish the journey of this life, as thou settest the life of thy outer self in external food and drink." Then, after speaking of Baptism, "He requires that *through the bodily eating and drinking*, which takes place through the outward things, the bread and wine, *thou admonish thyself of the spiritual eating and drinking, which takes place in the mind* from the Body and Blood of Christ, while thou refreshest thyself in thy inner self with the Incarnation and Passion of the Lord, that according to the humility whereby the Word was made Flesh, and the patience whereby He shed His Blood, thou form the life of thy inner self with what humility thou oughtest, be eminent in what patience thou oughtest, that thou acquiesce in them, rejoice in them, as, in thy outer self, thou acquiescest in thy food and drink. For thou hast no reason to shrink from eating bread and drinking wine, because it is, as St. Ambrose says in this very treatise on the Sacraments, 'a wonted and known creature.' But making an inference from the washing, which takes place in regeneration through the Blood of Christ, in the refreshment of the altar, he says, as thou hast received the likeness of death, so thou drinkest the likeness of His precious Blood." (Ibid., pp. 222, 223.) Lanfranc had charged him with this, in his answer to the recantation of the confession, to which he swore at the Council of Rome:—"Thou holdest that the bread and wine of the Lord's table, at the consecration, remain, as to the substance, immoveable. That is, that they were bread and wine before consecration, and are bread and wine after consecration, and that they are therefore called the Flesh and Blood of Christ, because they are celebrated in the Church in memory of the crucified Flesh, and of the Blood shed from His side, that we, *being thereby admonished, may ever have in mind* the Passion of the Lord, and, so bearing it in mind, may unceasingly crucify our flesh with its vices and affections." Lanfranc well adds, "If these things be true, the Sacraments of the Jews were better and Diviner than the Sacraments of Christians." (B. P. xviii. 775, fin.)

[y] See in note x. He had said in his former book, "Who can either

Lanfranc in an actual substantial Presence, which he repeatedly calls by a scoffing term, (of which he knew that it did not express that belief,) "portiuncula carnis et sanguinis[z]." The term "substantialiter," which he complains of being required to add to his confession at the Synod at Rome, was necessary to prevent evasion, in that he confessed that the Bread

conceive by reason, or grant that by miracle it could come to pass, that bread is broken in the Body of Christ, which [Body], after the Resurrection, is perfect with entire incorruptibility, and, unto the time of the restitution of all things, remains in heaven *indevocable*." (B. P. xviii. 770, *in Lanfr. de Corp. Dom.*, c. 17.) Lanfranc answers, "As to this, that thou opposest the incorruption of the Lord's Body, and that, until the Day of Judgment, it cannot be called down (*devocari*) from heaven, as a ground of impossibility to our faith, whereby we believe that He is truly eaten by His faithful, thou either dost not understand our faith,

and Wine were the Body and Blood of Christ, but only as reminding us of them. It was the conviction of his contemporaries that this was his heresy [a], and the

[a] Adelmann states to Berenger what was said of him, both in Italy and Germany, that he seemed to think "of the Body and Blood of Christ, immolated daily on the holy Altars throughout the earth, otherwise than the Catholic faith holds; viz., (to use their words of thee) that there is neither true Body of Christ nor true Blood, but a certain figure and similitude." (*Ep. ad Bereng.*, B. P. xviii. 438.) Berenger, in his answer, evades this by saying that he "was never a Manichæan; i.e. that he believed that the Body of Christ was true and human." He adds, "When I grant that anything is given [*dari*, Mab.] to become the Body of Christ, then, since Christ had only a true Body, I must grant that it becomes the true Body of Christ. But I grant that the Bread and Wine of the Altar, after consecration, become, according to the Scriptures, the Body and Blood of Christ; and therewith I cannot but grant that the Bread and Wine are made *to faith and intellect* the true Body and Blood of Christ." Distinguishing the *res sacramentorum* from the *sacramenta*, he says:—"it is true nevertheless that the true Body of Christ is set forth on the very Table, *but spiritually true to the inner man*; that in it [the Table] the Body of Christ is spiritually eaten uncorrupted, uncontaminated, unattrite, by those only who are members of Christ." (*Epist. Purg. c. Almann.*, p. 110.) See also ab. note x. Hugo, Bishop of Langres, writes to him, "Thou sayest, speaking too largely, 'In this Sacrament the Body of Christ is in such wise, that the nature and essence of the Bread and Wine is not changed,' and thou makest the Body, which thou hadst said was crucified, intellectual, wherein it is most evident that thou confessest it incorporeal." (*Tract. de corp. et sang. Christi cont. Berengar.*, B. P. xviii. 417.) Abbot Durand treats the explanation of the Berengarians as mere colouring of their heresy. [Satan] "has persuaded some to think, and with cunning whispers to convey to others, that nothing in the Sacraments of the Lord is done according to truth, but rather that everything is enacted in figure and likeness. Who, cunningly to free themselves of the suspicion of heresy, and to shew their agreement with the Lord's teaching, cloak themselves with this cunning act, and so, tampering, colour their dogma of profane novelty, as to say that the Bread and Wine, which are brought to the altar, after consecration too, remain what they had been, and so are, in a manner, the Body and true Blood of Christ, *not*

Catechism of the Council of Trent says, that the cor-

naturally, but figuratively. But if this great perverseness be anywise admitted, that in the mysteries of the Lord there be believed to *be no truth, but a shadowy falsehood is alone* maintained, what remains but that the whole teaching of the Christian profession perish?" (*De corp. et sang. Dom.*, P. i., Bibl. P. xviii. 420.) "God forbid that we should be joined in like faithlessness with men so perverted, and from the truth itself averted, and in the Holy Communion of the Lord's Body and Blood, we should confess aught less than the Catholic Church throughout the whole world preaches; *in which there is, in truth, as true Flesh of Christ and true Blood* as Christ Himself is truthful, Who first sanctified them, and gave to His own thereafter the authority and form of sanctifying them by His own power." (Ib., P. ii. p. 421). "It being understood that thou didst extol John Scot [Erigena], condemnest Paschasius, holdest things contrary to the common faith of the Church, a sentence of condemnation was promulgated against thee, depriving thee of the communion of the Holy Church, which thou busiedst thyself to deprive of its Holy Communion." (Lanfranc (to

rection of this error was the object of the definition of

professed himself ready to vindicate, Ascalinus says that he argued vehemently against the Real Presence. "I see that John Scotus strains with every nerve and his whole intent to this alone, viz., that this which is consecrated on the Altar is neither truly the Body nor truly the Blood of Christ. This he endeavours to establish from works of the Fathers, which he explains perversely: as the prayer of St. Gregory, 'Let Thy Sacraments, O Lord, perfect in us what they contain, that what we act in figure, we may receive in real truth.' In expounding this the aforesaid John, among other things contrary to the faith, says, 'these things are done in (specie) appearance, not in truth.'" Theodosius, in his letter to Henry I. of France, states the heresy to be that they [Bruno, Bishop of Angers, and Berenger, of Tours] maintain that the Body of the Lord is not so much a body as a figure and shadow of the Lord's Body. (*Conc.* xi. 1437, Col.) Guitmund alone says that some of his disciples ascribed to him "impanation." In answer to Roger, who mentions the common belief, "Berenger and those who follow him assert that the Eucharist of the Lord is not truly and substantially the Body and Blood of the Lord, but is only called so, because it is a sort of shadow and figure significant of the Body and Blood of the Lord," Guitmund says, that as far as he could extract from some Berengarians, "some say that there was nothing whatever of the Body and Blood of the Lord in that Sacrament, but that they are only shadows and figures. But some, ceding to the right reasons of the Church, yet not receding from their folly, that they may seem to be in some measure with us, say that the Body and Blood of the Lord are there really contained but in a hidden way, and that they may be received, are (so to speak) impanated. And this *they say* is the more subtle mind of Berengarius himself." (*De corp. et sang. Christi veritate in Euch.*, L. i. B. P. xviii. 441.) Undoubtedly Berenger often veiled his attack on the doctrine of the Real Presence, under the semblance of an attack on the belief that that which decayed was the Body of Christ. The then belief of some (e.g. of Guitmund himself) that the Holy Eucharist did not nourish, and that the consecrated elements never decay (Guitmund, ib., L. ii.), which the Roman Church has abandoned, gave him an advantage in this respect, in that some of his opponents shrunk back from an evident truth. But no one, I think, who knows Berenger's utter dishonesty, can doubt that this was but a veil of his real attack. The expression, too, of horror at his blas-

the Council of Lateran [b]. And, accordingly, the Canon uses the word, "is transubstantiated," but the whole stress is on the Real Presence. "[c] The Same is the Priest and the Sacrifice, Jesus Christ, Whose Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar *are truly contained under the species of Bread and Wine;* the Bread being transubstantiated into the Body, and the Wine into His Blood, that for the perfecting of the mystery of unity, *we may receive of His, what He received of ours* [Flesh and Blood]." In the writings against Berenger, "truly" and "essentially" are used as equivalent to "substantially [d]."

Lanfranc, when appealing against Berenger to the

faith of the Church throughout the world, uses no other language than we should use now. What he affirms of Latins, Greeks, Armenians, and all who are called Christians, he might have affirmed of us now. "If that is true which thou believest and supportest as to the Body of Christ, false is that which is believed and supported thereon by the Church throughout the world. For all who rejoice in being, and being called, Christians, glory that they receive in this Sacrament the true Flesh of Christ and His true Blood, both taken from the Virgin. Ask all who have received any knowledge of the Latin language and of our letters. Ask Greeks, Armenians, or any Christians whatsoever, of whatsoever nation,—they attest with one mouth, that this is their faith [e]."

It is self-evident that the English Article does not go directly against the Council of Lateran: (1.) because the term "transubstantiato" is a subordinate part of the Lateran Canon; (2.) because, (as we shall

[e] *Adv. Bereng.*, c. 22, B. P. xviii. 776. In like way we should all subscribe to Ascalin's protest to Berenger: "With Paschasius and other Catholics, I am not only minded, but with veneration I receive that the Very Body and Very Blood are taken by the faithful on the Altar under the species of Bread and Wine." (*Epist. ad Bereng. in Conc.* xi. 1434, Col.) Again, "We ought not to wonder or doubt that God can effect, that this which is consecrated on the Altar, is by the virtue of God the Holy Ghost, and the ministry of the Priest, united to that Body, which our Redeemer took of the Virgin Mary, (since each is a corporeal substance, each is visible,) if we remember that we ourselves are compacted of a corporeal and incorporeal, of a mortal and immortal substance; if, lastly, we firmly believe that the Divine and Human Nature met in One Person. Let dust and ashes unfold to me the explanation of the first and second, and then let it think that it suffices to make clear the first." (Ib., 1435.)

see hereafter) even of the statement in which it occurs, our Article does not even touch upon the most important part, the change "*into* the substance of the Body and Blood of Christ;" (3.) because there is ground to think that two entirely distinct meanings, and those not having the slightest bearing upon one another, have been given to the word "substance."

The solution of what difficulty remains will be found in the meaning attached to that word. Does the word mean natural substance? the component parts, the constitutive principles which chemistry makes known to us, or is it the subtle essence, subsistence, the *οὐσία*, which corresponds to personality in men and angels? This can only be determined by a com-

It disappeared from the Prayer-book of Queen Elizabeth, and was not taken in by King James.

At the last revisal in Charles the Second's time, to meet as far as possible the scruples of the Puritans, on their petition, it was agreed[f] that the Declaration should be for the first time assumed into the Prayer-book by competent authority as we should now hold, but a total and radical change was made before it was deemed orthodox and admissible. The courtiers of King Edward had denied that there was any "real or essential presence there being of Christ's natural flesh and blood." The divines of King Charles could not assent to this, so they altered the words, into "any corporal presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood." The emphatic word here is "corporal," which is a very different thing. Real or essential implies the *quidditas* or *substantia* of the Schoolmen; corporal, one of the qualities of the same.

Now in this document we find that it is not the metaphysical *οὐσία* that we are concerned with, but the natural substance. "The Sacramental Bread and Wine remain still in their very natural substances." Natural substance here is equivalent to the *φύσις*, or *natura*, of Pope Gelasius and Theodoret.

II. The context of the Article further confirms this interpretation.

Four results are said to spring from it. Four concomitants are in the tenor of the Article said to attend

[f] Cardwell's Confer., p. 322.

upon Transubstantiation. 1. That it cannot be proved by Holy Writ; 2. that it is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture; 3. that it overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament; 4. that it has given occasion to superstition.

1. and 2. Now it is perfectly clear, that so far from the *μεταβολή* in the Holy Sacrament being improbable on the grounds of the letter of Scripture, it is the sacramental theory which comes nearest to that letter; for our Lord did not say, 'This is joined with My Body,' or 'this signifies My Body,' or 'this represents My Body,' or 'this has the power and efficacy of My Body,' but "This is My Body." It is evident that the letter of Holy Bible alludes to a deep inward mysterious

dicts the senses, but that it overthrows the nature of a Sacrament. Now this greatly helps us in our view that it is not the abstract theory of a change, but the incorrect physics which are condemned. Such a change only is excepted against, as would involve a physical desition of what before existed in such wise, that the visible sign of That which is invisible should have no real existence.

There is no argument so strong against this abuse of the Scholastic theory of Transubstantiation as the natural one, connected with the thought of its destroying the nature of a Sacrament, derived from the controversies of the fifth century with regard to the Natures and Person of our Lord. The Monophysite heretics wished to teach that our Lord's Body was now changed into a Divine substance, and they illustrated it by the supernatural change of the sacramental symbols. This was met in the face by Orthodoxus:— "You are taken in the net which you have woven; the mystic symbols do not, after consecration, depart from their own nature; they continue in the former essence and shape, and are visible and palpable as before; but in thought they are conceived, and believed, and adored, as being those things which are the objects of faith[h]."

The same assertion is made by Pope Gelasius in his treatise *De Duabus Naturis*, a tractate which, though doubted by some Roman theologians, is quoted by St. Fulgentius only nine years after its publication,

[h] Theodoret, Eranistes.

and therefore must be genuine. An indirect argument like this stands on the ground of circumstantial evidence, which, though hardly a safe guide where none other exists, adds indefinitely to certainty when it operates in confirming direct testimony. Granting the existence of that whole class of authors who admit that in the Holy Eucharist there is an earthly and a heavenly nature, this incidental argument comes in with tremendous power, nothing having been less in the mind of the authors at the time, than to make any declaration on the subject, so vexed in after times, i.e. the desition of the *signum* in the Holy Eucharist.

And yet if this analogy is quoted for the continued existence of the *signum*, it is only just that it should

above. People would not have asserted that any honour was superstitious which was paid to the Presence of our Lord in the Sacrament, but they would say that it was superstitious to use the blessed Sacrament for purposes for which it never was intended, and which have never been sanctioned by the Church; for example, it would be superstitious to bury the Sacrament with the dead, or to mix It with ink for the purpose of signing the condemnation of a heretic, as was done in the case of the Synod of Rome in 648, in the matter of the Monothelites.

Again, it would not be superstitious to believe, that as in the case at Bolsena, (assuming the circumstance to be true,) our Lord attested the truth of His presence in the Sacrament by an appearance of blood; but it would be superstitious to believe that that appearance was physical, that it was our Lord's Blood, and as such be received. And so, it would be superstitious to believe that those appearances of Christ as a little child in the Sacrament, which have from time to time been vouchsafed to God's servants, was the actual body of our Lord in its natural condition.

All that the letter of the Article denies, is that by virtue of the words of consecration such a change takes place in the proportions and conditions of the elemental substances now mentioned, that the same component parts which before made up the forces of bread, now make those of flesh and blood. This is not the case even as to human food. Bread and Wine are commuted into flesh and blood; but the same physical

component parts are not present in each[i]. Much less have we any occasion to think of anything so earthly, under the name "substance," i.e. "essence" of Bread and Wine, since it is confessed on all hands that "our Saviour Himself ever sitteth at the Right Hand of the Father in heaven, according to His natural mode of existence," while He is "sacramentally present with us by His own substance," not in any carnal way, but "by that mode of existing, which although we can hardly express in words, we may, through thought illumined by faith, understand to be possible to God[k]."

And here it is of moment to draw attention to another important change in our present Article. Bishop Gheast, who said of the Article, "that it was

substance of Christ's Body and Blood;" and restricted the rejection of the word Transubstantiation to the *terminus a quo*, "the change of the substance of the Bread and Wine." This alteration is much stronger than if the words which he omitted had never stood; for the omission was a deliberate act. It shews evidently that of the former complex explanation "the change of the substance of bread and wine into the substance of Christ's Body and Blood," the only point excepted against was a change in the substance of Bread and Wine.

It remains to consider what the Article means as to this, which alone remains as a difficulty.

Substanti*a* is manifestly, by the force of term, some one thing. It concerns us not so far, whether it be material or immaterial; only it may be observed that we do not know what matter itself is. Chemistry, whose employment is the analysis of the compound objects of which our senses are cognisant, has (at least as represented by one of its most eminent discoverers[1]) set aside the idea that matter is compounded of atoms. He says, "To my mind *a*, or the nucleus, vanishes, and the substance consists of the powers, or *m*. And, indeed, what notion can we form of the nucleus, independent of its powers? All our perception and knowledge of the atom, and even our fancy, is limited to the ideas of its powers. What thought remains, on which to hang the imagination of an *a*, independent

[1] Professor Faraday, in a paper on the Nature of Matter, in the "Philosophical Magazine," Feb., 1844, p. 141.

of the acknowledged forces. Now the powers we know and recognise in every phenomenon of the creation, the abstract matter in none; why, then, assume the existence of that, of which we are ignorant, which we cannot conceive, and for which there is no philosophical necessity?"

All which we know of are certain "forces." What is the unity which holds them together we know not. But one thing cannot, at the same time and in the same sense, be many things. The substantia of bread and wine cannot be what we mean by the physical substances, i.e. all those component parts which are united in it. This is but to say that we use a singular and a plural in different senses. Every crumb of a

because it has the appearance, and still *retains* the quality, *natural* to bread, of supporting and nourishing the body [m]. It says that this natural quality is *retained*, not that it is restored by the creation of fresh materia, or by the bringing back of the old miraculously, or by any other miracle, which the explanations of the Schoolmen presupposed. All Christians must believe any miracle which comes to them by authority. But no authority is alleged for these. They are only opinions of the Schoolmen, and those, mutually contradictory. This "natural power of nourishing," of which our senses are cognisant, is the only remaining property of natural substances, which the Anglican formularies can include, when they speak of the "bread and wine remaining in their natural substances," i.e. that they have all the characteristic properties which our senses can discern. Those formularies do not refer to any abstract questions about "substance."

But now even natural philosophy comes in to our aid. It is pretty well agreed that material bodies consist of a number of unextended forces. "Some of these forces are permanent, others are visible; for while the substance remains the same, the phenomena are perpetually varying. Each body, therefore, may be considered to be a collection of changeable forces, resulting from the activity of a great substantial force. It is evident that the shifting forces may be looked upon as qualities, emanating and radiating from a central force, which is the permanent source of them

[m] P. ii. c. 4, q. 38.

all, and which is the substance. It is also clearly conceivable, that *these forces should remain* after the central force or substance is gone [n]."

Now this is just the distinction which was needed. We do not at all understand what the *οὐσία* or *substantia* of anything is. We can conceive *that* it is, not *what* it is. It seems, according to these last explanations, to be *that*, which constitutes a thing what it is, that which lies at the bottom of its being. It is deeper and more recondite than anything which affects our senses, even than those forces which "naturally support and nourish our bodies." If this be so, the question is at an end. There is but one belief as to the presence of Christ, that He, "our Saviour, Who now sitteth at the

senses, but only asserting that that "quidditas" (whatever it be) whereby the bread was bread, is removed, leaving all those forces of which alone we are cognisant, then, God be thanked, Who has said to a great mountain which stood between us, "Be thou a plain." There is nothing in such a statement which our Article denies, or which could form a difficulty to any soul, which believed the blessed Presence of our Saviour, of His Body and His Blood.

"The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner." One cannot exaggerate the importance of the words *given*, *taken*, and *eaten*. "The Body of Christ,"—observe how completely the Article adopts the old nomenclature; it does not say the Sacrament of the Body of Christ, but *Corpus Christi*, the Body of Christ, showing that what was in a partial way described in the beginning of the Article, from its effects as a partaking of the Body, is objectively the Body itself. "The Body of Christ" is first *given*, that is, by the Priest, or rather by the Great High-Priest, through the ministry of His earthly representative. It is next *taken*, first into the hand of the communicant, therefore the Body is something external to him who takes it; it is objective and independent of anything in him. It is Christ's Body before he takes it. It is given to him in what the Priest gives him, and that, the Article says, is the Body of Christ. The heavenly and spiritual manner applies equally to all the three. It is given in a heavenly and spiritual manner, for the

whole action is supernatural. It is taken in a heavenly and spiritual manner, for we have here to do with the order of grace, not the order of nature. It is eaten after a heavenly and spiritual manner, for "It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing." The explanation of the term "only," is best left to its author, Bishop Geste.

Yet once more, the words, "The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, only after a spiritual and heavenly manner," contain the doctrine of an Objective Presence. For it is said not only given and received, which might imply something which takes place within the soul only, but given, *taken*, and eaten, which implies an external act on the part of the person receiving. The "taking" and "eating" are two dis-

The accurate language of this clause is further illustrated by what was deliberately rejected on revision. In the Articles of 1553, there had been a sentence in these terms:—"Forasmuch as the truth of man's nature requireth that the body of one and the self-same man cannot be at one time in diverse places, but must needs be in one certain place: therefore the Body of Christ cannot be present at one time in many and diverse places. And because (as Holy Scripture doth teach) Christ was taken up into heaven, and there shall continue unto the end of the world, a faithful man ought not either to believe or openly to confess the real and bodily presence (as they term it) of Christ's flesh and blood in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper."[1] In the Parker Latin MS. of 1563, the following clause was here added, but struck out in the Synod:—"Christus, in cœlum ascendens, corpori suo immortalitatem dedit, naturam non abstulit; humane enim nature veritatem (juxta Scripturas) perpetuo retinet, quam uno et definito loco esse, et non in multa, vel omnia simul

The real meaning of this ambiguous statement is further illustrated by Beza himself:—"Jesum Christum, verum Deum et verum hominem per visibilia signa nobis offerri, ut mentes nostræ fide in cœlum, ubi nunc est Christus, sublatæ Illum spiritualiter contemplentur, et omnibus Ipsius bonis et thesauris perfruantur: idque tam certo et vere quam nos videmus accipimus edimus et bibimus corporalia et visibilia signa." —(Ib., p. 514.) Beza's party explained the "Sancti Spiritus operatione" to be that "fide et Spiritus S. operatione, mentes nostræ, quarum hic est præcipuè cibus, in cœlum elatæ perfruantur corpore et sanguine præsente."—(Ib., p. 521.) Beza also maintains,—"Quærendum esse in cœna Christum eo modo quo esset antequam carnem induisset."—(Ib., p. 513.)

loca diffundi, oportet. Quum igitur Christus in cœlum sublatus ibi usque ad finem seculi permansurus, atque inde, non aliunde, (ut loquitur Augustinus,) venturus sit, ad judicandum vivos et mortuos, non debet quisquam fidelium, et carnis ejus et sanguinis, realem et Corporalem (ut loquuntur) præsentiam in Eucharistia vel credere vel profiteri[r]." The dogmatic importance of these deliberate rejections must not be undervalued.

The clause in the Article which we are considering, contains first the fact that the subject we have treated of is the Body of Christ in the Supper. And all the assertions made concerning it are that its mode of existence is absolutely supernatural. What is heavenly and spiritual cannot be liable to the laws of physics. It is something emphatically mysterious

lay down, that the Body of Christ, if it be compared with the form of bread, is not in them as in a place, because as the substance of bread is not said to be in its accidents as in a place, so neither does the Body of Christ which succeeds to it under those accidents. But, if the Body of Christ be compared with the place of the species, it can be so compared in two ways; either as the Body of Christ according to itself, or as denominated by and invested with the species. In this second consideration, the Body of Christ may be said to be in that circumscribed place, not properly, but improperly, and *secundum quid;* for as, by reason of the species, we in an improper sense say it is seen and handled, because the species are seen and handled, so, for the same reason, we may improperly say that, because the species are circumscribed by space, It also is. Lastly, if the substance of the Body of Christ according to itself be compared to place, it is not said to be in place physically and in a circumscribed fashion or quantitatively; for although it be there properly, yet it is not by a circumscription *ubi*, because the *res ubicata* corresponds with the parts of space by its own parts, and in this sense St. Thomas denies that the Body of Christ is locally in this sacrament [t]."

We proceed to consider "the means whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten."

The words of the Article must, both (1) on account of the literal meaning, and (2) in reference to the context, be confined to the subjective act of communi-

[t] Lugo, Disp. vi. § iii. ed. Migne, 228.

cating. The passage does not mean that Faith makes the difference between its being the Body of the Lord, or not the Body of the Lord which is received and eaten; it does not mean that Faith is that which makes the distinction between a real presence and a real absence of the Body of Christ: but it means that the condition of reception on the part of the recipient, according to Christ's ordinance and the intention of the Church,—that is, for the spiritual good of the said recipient,—is Faith.

Observe the words "received and eaten." These, in their literal sense, are essentially subjective. They describe what is necessary on the part of the communicants to a *beneficial* partaking, and they mean no

The word "given" is the *differentia* between the two statements, and in the word "given" there is bound up the whole question of the reality and objectivity of the Presence.

This view of the real meaning of the Article is supported by the response in the Scottish Communion Office at the awful moment of reception. The communicant is directed to answer to the words of the minister, "Amen." What does this mean? It means what it meant in the ancient Church, from which the custom is derived. In the early Church the earliest words were alone, "the Body of Christ, the Blood of Christ," to which the faithful assented "Amen." The disciple of St. Ambrose gives the interpretation, "So then not idly dost thou say Amen, already thereby confessing in spirit that thou receivest the Body of Christ. The Priest sayeth to thee, the Body of Christ, and thou sayest Amen, i.e. true. What thy tongue confesseth let thy affections retain [u]."

The statement in the Article is in perfect harmony with the language of the ancient Church. It would be unnatural if in the glowing language of Liturgies and Fathers the high office of Faith should not be fully recognised.

When, in 1661, the words "with faith" were added to the words "draw near" in the English office, the apparent source from which they were taken was the Liturgies of Armenia, Jerusalem, St. Chrysostom, and St. Basil. All say, "Approach with the fear of God,

[u] *De Sacr.*, l. iv. c. iv.

and *faith* and love." The love is omitted in the Armenian. What was this but to say to the people, It is by Faith that you will profitably partake of these holy mysteries.

And this again is most emphatically set forth in the Confession of the Eucharistic Faith, which, in various forms, is so prominent in the Liturgies of Egypt and Ethiopia[x]. As for example:—

"The holy, precious, living, and very Body of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, which is given for remission of sins and life eternal to those who receive it *with faith*. Amen.

"The holy, precious, life-giving, and very Blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, which is given for

This is only the richest specimen of a class of these Confessions. For another, taken from the Coptic Liturgy of St. Basil, vide Neale's "Introduction to History of the Eastern Church." So also in the Western Church[y]. From the Leonine Sacramentary, take the following:—"Adesto quæsumus Domine plebi tuæ; ut quæ sumsit *fideliter*, et mente simul et corpore, te protegente, custodiat."

So also St. Gregory:—"Da nobis . . . ut sancta tua . . . semper *fideli* mente sumamus[z]."

This language of primitive antiquity bears witness to the fact that faith is the appointed instrument for reception of that which (in the sublime words which the ancient Liturgy of the West, embodying, as we may believe, the tradition of the Apostles, has not feared to put in juxtaposition with the very words of the divine Consecrator,) is emphatically *Mysterium Fidei*.

The necessity of the office of Faith in devout reception must be ever present in our view. It is indeed *Mysterium Fidei* in ways and senses far beyond what the course of controversies has elicited, or indeed what our mind can ever exhaust. If ever faith have an office in our approaches to God, it is when we kneel before His altar.

"The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped."

The Latin version here is suggestive. Hitherto the

[y] *Muratori Lit. Rom.*, i. 369. [z] Ibid., ii. 43.

rendering of the term "Lord's Supper" has been *Cœna Domini;* here, as in the preceding clause touching Transubstantiation, we have the ancient word *Eucharistia, Εὐχαριστία* [a]. And it is necessarily used not for the ceremony, but for the Divine Gift; that which was the result of consecration; the "Elements," as they are popularly termed by a phraseology in which the common language has preserved a sense of the unspeakable mysteriousness of that most august Sacrament [b].

The Article does not prohibit the practices mentioned, but merely states that the reservation, circumgestation, elevation, and adoration of the *Sanctissimum* is no part of Christ's institution. "Such ceremonies

St. Justin Martyr says, that after celebration, the Eucharistic Elements were sent by the hands of the Deacons to those not present[e]. A touching instance of this is recorded in the act of the martyrdom of St. Lucian[f]. In the second century it was the custom for Bishops to send It as a token of peace and unity[g]. That the Eucharist was reserved in the Church under both kinds from the fourth century, is proved by St. Chrysostom in his letter to Pope Innocent[h], where the Saint describes the outrages of the soldiers in the church of Constantinople. At Nola It was kept in a golden casket[i], which was laid up in the sanctuary. And this is probably the meaning of what Anastasius writes in his Life of Pope Nicholas, "Fecit autem ut in Basilicâ Salvatoris — cruces de argento purissimo quæ pendent ante figuram substantiæ carnis ejusdem Dni. N. J. C.[k]"

St. Basil not only mentions that in times of persecution the faithful were constrained to take the Communion into their own hands, and that the solitaries in the desert had to have recourse to the same practice, but mentions that it was the ordinary use of the Church of Alexandria, and asks, "Ought they not to believe that That which they carry home[l] in their

[e] *Apol.*, i. 68, p. 52, Oxf. Tr. [f] *Act. S. Luc. ap. Sur.*

[g] *Ep. Irenæi ad Victor. ap. Euseb.* H. E., v. c. 24.

[h] *Ep. ad Innocent., PP. apud D. Constant.*, t. i. p. 783. [i] Amb., *Ep.* iv. n. 4. [k] Vide Ducange.

[l] "*Eucharistiam domum delatam et in* arcâ servatam, *scribunt* Tertullianus sub finem libri *ad Mart.*, lib. ii. *ad uxor.* S. Cyp., *lib. de lapsis.* S. Aug., lib. iii. *Cont. Crescon.*, cap. 11; Bas., *in Epist.* cclxxxix.; *Joan.*

hands, is the Same Thing which they receive in church at the hands of the Priest [m]." This custom, which was universal, is believed to have lasted till the Papacy of Hormisdas, A.D. 514, and to have been retained even longer in the East. It was also reserved in long journeys by land and by sea [n]. The custom lasted till the Crusades [o].

Becket carried It round his neck on the occasion of his going in search of Henry II. When the ordeal by fire was proposed to be resorted to, to test whether the Pope was right in excommunicating Savonarola, his friend, Fr. Dominic, who was to make the fiery trial, held It in his hand.

Anciently the Sacrament was reserved at the con-

the thirteenth century, we have distinct evidence that in different ways, sometimes in a ciborium, sometimes suspended over the altar enveloped in veils, sometimes in tabernacles in the form of a dove, sometimes in aumbries beside the altar, sometimes along with images and relics of the saints, sometimes under baldachins, and sometimes in towers a few feet from the high altar, the blessed Sacrament was reserved with great dignity and honour. The practice of reserving the blessed Sacrament for the sick has obtained in the Scottish Church, by an unwritten tradition, since the days of the Non-jurors.

The carrying about of the Blessed Sacrament in solemn procession is a ceremony of the Western Church. It does not exist in the orthodox Eastern Church, nor in the English Church; neither do any of the Eastern heretical Churches practise it. It is impossible to fix the exact date of the commencement of the practice. On the one hand, the opinion of those who would maintain that it took its rise in Pavia in 1404, on the authority of Donatus Bossius, a jurisconsult of Milan[r], is contradicted by history; on the other hand, that of those who make it synchronize with the authorization of the *Festum Corporis Christi* by Urban IV. in 1264, is confuted by the silence of Durandus writing in 1286. It is, however, alluded to in documents of the Church of Chartres, 1339; of Sens, 1320; of Tournay, 1323. Cassander maintained that it is certain that the Feast was not

[r] *Chron. a Mundi init. ad an.* 1492.

instituted by Urban IV. for the exposition of the Blessed Eucharist, but that the faithful should assemble in great numbers in the churches, there to sing the praises of God, and to prepare themselves by acts of piety to participate worthily on that day, and receive it with respect. The celebrated Cardinal Groper, the ornament of the Church of Cologne, inveighed against many of the abuses connected with this ceremony, so late as 1560. St. Carlo Borromeo, in the acts of the Council of Milan, puts restrictions on the public exposition of the Blessed Sacrament [s]. The feast was celebrated at Liege fourteen years before the Bull of Urban, and did not become universal till after the Council of Vienne in 1311.

Walafride, or any of the ancient writers who explain the ceremonies of the Church. It is when we come to mediæval times, that the practice is recognised, such as in the *Speculum Ecclesiæ* of Hugh of St. Victor; in Hildebertus of Le Mans[x] (A.D. 1136). It is constantly alluded to in the Provincial Synods of the thirteenth century, as also by Durandus[y]. The elevation of the chalice does not obtain among the Greeks, and is by no means universal among the Latins.

It is unnecessary to go into the question of the worship of our Lord in the Sacrament, after the exhaustive treatise of John Keble, *τοῦ μακαρίτου*, to which the reader is referred.

[x] *De Offic. Miss.*

[y] *Rationale Div. Off.*

ARTICLE XXIX.

De manducatione Corporis Christi, et Impios illud non manducare.

Impii, et fide viva destituti, licet carnaliter, et visibiliter (ut Augustinus loquitur) Corporis et Sanguinis Christi Sacramentum, dentibus premant, nullo tamen modo Christi participes efficiuntur. Sed potius tantæ rei Sacramentum, seu Symbolum, ad judicium sibi manducant, et bibunt.

printed copies of the Articles as finally put forth [a]. The passage from the supposed treatise of St. Augustine, which, extruded by the Benedictine editors from that author, is found in Bede, Alcuin, and others, was distinctly verified by a reference to the treatise from whence it is taken [b]. The Twenty-ninth Article was re-adopted on the 11th of May, 1571, and finds its place in all the printed copies of that date, whether English or Latin. We must account for the hesitation with regard to its enunciation on the grounds either of Queen Elizabeth's own feelings, or on those of the scruples of her advisers. In fact we know that an interview took place on the subject between Parker and Cecil [c], where the latter called in question the fairness of the quotation from St. Augustine.

The doctrine concerning That which is received by the wicked in the Holy Sacrament, stands in a middle position between two truths, with either of which it must be reconciled. On the one hand, regarding the blessed Sacrament as the food of the soul and the subjective appropriation of the merits of Christ, remembering also that the Sermon on this doctrine, in the sixth chapter of St. John, is entirely silent on the subject, we must hold that there can be no beneficial reception to those in a state of sin; that it cannot act as a charm in the case of those who are unprepared; that so far are they from the blessedness

[a] Hardwick, p. 128, n. 2. [b] Ibid., p. 140.
[c] Strype's Parker, p. 331.

of union with Christ, that it were far better that they had not approached those holy mysteries. On the other hand, it is equally true that the Holy Communion is such by virtue of consecration; that Christ's presence does not depend upon the mental emotion and spiritual condition of the recipient; that the Sacrament is what it is by the power of the institution of Christ. If this be so, wherein shall we reconcile these apparent contradictions? It is found in the fact that Christ is, in certain cases, present in the Sacrament, not to bless, but to judge—that reception of the Sacrament by the wicked conveys something more serious than a negation—that the wicked not only do not receive grace, but do receive judgment.

The language of the Article means that the *res*

Them to be, how can an unworthy communicant be guilty of the Body and Blood of Christ? On any other theory he may be ungodly, irreverent, profane, even sacrilegious; but on this theory alone can these terrible words be used in their truth, "Guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord." What else *can* they mean than that to receive the inward part, the Body and Blood of Christ, unworthily, is to be guilty in that very respect?

Again, in the next verse, the Apostle supplies the way and means towards avoiding that profanation—"Let a man examine himself." The whole Church system of penitence is here placed between past sin and the Holy Communion. The lapsed Christian is to purge his unworthiness by examination, and its concomitant exercise of repentance.

And all this in view of the dreadful results of a neglect of these means, for he that eateth and drinketh unworthily eateth and drinketh κρῖμα, 'judgment,' which our translators have rendered by the very strong word 'damnation;' and why? because they do not discern "the Lord's Body." Bengel says, "Domini Antonomasia, i.e. Jesu. Ecclesia non dicitur corpus Jesu aut corpus Domini, sed corpus Christi, hic igitur de proprio corpore Domini Jesu agitur."

How could the Lord's Body be discerned, if It was not there? Why should St. Paul give this reason for these fearful condemnations falling upon the irreverent sinner, if there were no presence of the Lord to be violated—no ineffable condescension to be disdained.

In the words of St. Chrysostom [e], commenting on the words, "Not discerning the Lord's Body,"—"not searching, not bearing in mind as he ought, the greatness of the things set before him—not estimating the weight of the gift,—For if thou shouldst come to know accurately, *Who* it is that lieth before thee, and *Who* He is who giveth Himself, and to whom, thou wilt need no other argument, but this is enough for thee to use all vigilance."

The argument from St. Paul rests partly on the whole tenor of what he says in this passage, partly on his very express words. That first argument from the whole context may be stated syllogistically in this fashion:—

Unworthy communicants either receive something

St. Paul's remarkable phrase, the most characteristic and doctrinal expression in the passage, that which St. Paul assigns as the ground why to "eat and drink unworthily," is to eat and drink damnation to themselves, viz. *μὴ διακρίνων τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου, μὴ διακρίνων*, that is, not discerning in the Latin sense—not discriminating between the Body of the Lord and all other foods. But there would be no blame in not so discriminating between the Body of the Lord and other food, unless that Body were present there.

If these words of the Apostle may be turned aside from their meaning, there is no safety for the retention of any plain and explicit statement of the Word of God.

The formularies of the Church rightly understood support the view that the *res Sacramenti* is received by the wicked.

1. In the exhortation before the actual reception we are told—"For as the benefit is great, if with a true penitent heart and lively faith we receive that Holy Sacrament (for then we spiritually eat the Flesh of Christ and drink His Blood; then we dwell in Christ, and Christ in us: we are one with Christ, and Christ with us); so is the danger great if we receive THE SAME unworthily." Whether "the same" here applies, according to the strictness of construction, to "the Flesh of Christ," or to the antecedent word "Holy Sacrament," we arrive at the same result, and that is, that that which is received by the good, *the Same* is received by the wicked and unworthy.

2. Moreover, in the warning before the Communion, we are exhorted "to consider the dignity of that Holy Mystery, and the great peril of the unworthy receiving *thereof;*" where we again see that what is provided for the good may be unworthily received by the evil.

3. Again, the same "Holy Sacrament" is described to be "so divine and comfortable a thing to them who receive it worthily, and so dangerous to them that will presume to receive *it* (that is, *the same*) unworthily."

4. Then, the Church commits herself to the belief that Judas received the Holy Sacrament, according to the almost unanimous consent of antiquity, and deduces a warning lest, after the taking of the Holy

But the Article under consideration affords another proof of the position.

At the end of Article XXV., in speaking of the Sacraments generally it is said:—"The Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them. And in such only as worthily receive the same they have a wholesome operation, but they that receive them unworthily purchase to themselves damnation, as St. Paul saith."

Here, though the passage is put under the head of the Sacraments in general, it is clear that the Holy Eucharist is specially alluded to, for no one then gazed on Baptism, nor could they carry it about; but the other Sacrament was both gazed upon and carried about. Assuming then that it is the Holy Eucharist which alone is alluded to, we find in the end of this Article the same doctrine which we have found in the Exhortations, and therefore, under pain of detecting a fearful inconsistency, we must believe that the true sense of Article XXIX. must be in accordance with this. It is also to be observed that by connecting this passage of Article XXV. with Article XXIX. we are led to identify the statement, that in worthy receivers only Sacraments have a wholesome effect or operation, with the statement that unworthy receivers are in no wise partakers of Christ. In other words, to be a "partaker of Christ," in the sense of Article XXIX., is to have in one's self that wholesome operation, which is identical with the "strengthening and re-

freshing" of the Catechism—which strengthening and refreshing is distinguished by the Catechism from the Body and Blood, as the *Virtus Sacramenti* from the *Res Sacramenti*.

Moreover, it must be mentioned that there is much that is curious about the reception of this Article. It is a well-known fact that Queen Elizabeth never, in the midst of her worldly policy, lost her faith in the Objective Presence of our Lord in the Holy Sacrament. Peter Heylin mentions[f], in close connexion, these two anecdotes:—"That when Dean Nowell of St. Paul's spoke less reverently in a sermon preached before her, of the Sign of the Cross, she called aloud to him from her closet window, commanding him to retire from that

In the Convocation of 1571, the Article was restored. It is noteworthy that this was the very Convocation in which the bishops, by the famous canon *Concionatores*, imposed upon the clergy, as their guide in the doctrinal interpretation of Scripture, the authority of the Catholic Fathers and ancient Bishops.

Now, if there is any fact in theological history capable of demonstration, I think it is this, that the Catholic Fathers and ancient Bishops did teach, alike in liturgies and in treatises, that *in some sense* the unworthy communicants do receive the Body and Blood of Christ to their condemnation. This, to say the very least, must throw a strong light upon the interpretation of this Article.

The words of the Article cited as St. Augustine's, are not in the treatise as fully as there quoted. The interpolation is that of Venerable Bede, in the eighth century; such an interpolation being in consistence with the faith of Bede, who most emphatically taught that "the Holy Body and Precious Blood were offered up" in "sacrifice" on the altar.

It is right, however, to say that the interpolation is wholly in accordance with the mind of St. Augustine. It becomes our duty, therefore, from other passages in this great Father, to deduce what he really meant. We must premise that, amid the many and conscientious retractations by which in his latter days he corrected any mis-statements even in minute matters in his early teaching, no trace of retractation is to be found on this point. We may therefore arrive at

a pretty strong probability as to what he really felt on the subject.

1. The following expressions appear to be in unison with the famous passage quoted in the Article:—"The sign which shews that one has eaten and drunk is this, if he dwelleth and is dwelt in, if he inhabiteth and is inhabited, if he cleaveth that he be not abandoned[1]." "There are persons who have not only in the Sacrament, but in reality, eaten Christ's Body, being placed in that very Body of His, of which the Apostle saith, 'We, being many, are one Bread and one Body.' He who is in the unity of that Body, in the coherent mass of the members of Christ, of which Body the faithful communicants are wont to receive the Sacrament from

i.e. as if in the sight of God any existence of good which was not permanent was actually unreal. It is, in short, a Christian application of the heathen maxim, "Count no man happy before his end." This is one-sided language, and such as men do not usually employ.

2. This language, then, must be held in combination with such other Augustinian language as follows:—

On St. Paul's words, "Guilty of the Body," &c., St. Augustine says "that the Apostle was discoursing on those who, treating the Lord's Body like other food, took it in a negligent and indiscriminating way[m]."

"Do so many who, either in hypocrisy eat that Flesh and drink that Blood, or who, after they have eaten and drunk, become apostate,—do they 'dwell in Christ and Christ in them?' Yet assuredly there is a certain manner of eating that Flesh and of drinking that Blood in which whosoever eateth and drinketh It dwelleth in Christ. He, then, doth not dwell in Christ and Christ in him who eateth the Flesh and drinketh the Blood of Christ in any manner whatever, but only in some certain manner[n]."

"Any one who unworthily receives the Sacrament of the Lord does not, because he himself is evil, cause it to be evil, nor because he receives not unto salvation, has he received nothing, for that was no less the Body and Blood of the Lord to those also to whom the Apostle said, 'He that eateth and drinketh

[m] *Tract.* 62, *in S. Joh.* [n] *Serm.* 71.

unworthily eateth and drinketh damnation to himself [o].'"

3. These expressions arrive at their intensity when they are brought to the crucial point whether the wretched Judas did or did not receive the Lord's Body.

St. Augustine says:—"The Lord allows Judas to receive among the innocent disciples what the faithful know to be our Ransom [p]."

"Of one Bread hath Peter and Judas received. Peter received unto life, Judas unto death [q]."

How shall we reconcile this apparent discrepancy? It is reconciled by St. Augustine himself.

He says, "the good, together with the bad, eat and

To sum up the teaching of St. Augustine, it must ever be borne in mind, in seeking to ascertain his meaning, that he holds, as it were, two inward parts or *res* in the Sacrament: 1st. Christ's real but now spiritual Body, which He took of the Blessed Virgin; 2nd. His mystical Body, the Church of God's elect, and that all receivers partake of the first, and only worthy receivers of the other.

This will be yet more clearly seen, if we observe the context of that passage from which the Article quotes. Our author is there speaking of a *res*, of which only worthy communicants partake, and this *res* is, strictly speaking, a permanent inherence in the mystical Body of Christ. This mystical aspect of the Holy Communion—which, it will be remembered, is so beautifully illustrated in that prayer of our Church which speaks of due receivers of the holy mysteries as "very members incorporate in the mystical Body of" our Lord, and in its holy fellowship,—was by no means absent from the mind of Fathers like St. Chrysostom and St. Cyril, who would not have agreed with St. Augustine on the question of the decrees of God.

But the Article does not in any way stand committed to St. Augustine's view of predestination. It does not even use his precise language in the very place which it quotes from him. It gives its genuine meaning, but it substitutes words which express that meaning for his own. St. Augustine in that passage says, "Who dwelleth not in Christ, and in whom Christ dwelleth not, doth neither eat His Flesh nor

drink His Blood, but rather, unto judgment to himself, eat and drink the Sacrament of so great a thing." Bede rightly explained St. Augustine's words by adding the word "spiritually," i.e. to the health of his spirit, or, in other words, so as to be "partaker of Christ." As St. Jerome says, "His blood we drink, and without Him we cannot drink." Without Christ, we cannot be "partakers of Christ." This, which St. Augustine shews to have been his meaning, the framer of our Article directly expresses. Instead of saying that "the wicked cannot eat the Flesh of Christ, or drink His Blood," i.e. as St. Augustine himself shews that he meant these words, "cannot *so* eat the Flesh of Christ and drink His Blood as to be partakers of

a state of sin." Whatever our bias may be, we dare not affix to words of Holy Scripture used in our Articles any other than their scriptural meaning. The words "partakers of Christ," in the Article, must mean the same as "partakers of Christ" in Holy Scripture, from which our Article has taken them. But in Holy Scripture, to be "a partaker of Christ" is to have a share, so to speak, "in Christ and of Christ," to be united with Him, to have a share of the blessedness, the graces, the acceptance which is in Him and from Him. No paraphrase expresses the depth of those simple words of Holy Scripture, "partakers of Christ." For whatever blessedness flows from Him, what they primarily mean is, share in Christ Himself. This the Article denies of the wicked. To those who remain such unto the end, Christ tells us that He shall say, "I never knew you." However near they approach to Him, they are none of His; and since by His grace alone we can partake of Himself, they who have not His grace cannot "partake of Christ," can have no share of Him.

The framer of the Article altered St. Augustine's words. He brings out St. Augustine's meaning by changing the concise words which St. Augustine used, and by substituting the scriptural phrase, which, as appears from the other places of St. Augustine, expresses what that Father really meant. And this meaning we must have taken, whether it made for or against our views. For we are bound to take the words of our Articles in their strict, grammatical mean-

ing, and we must take a scriptural phrase in its scriptural meaning. But we now happen to know, over and above, that this was the meaning of the framer of the Article.

It appears from Archbishop Parker's Letter to Lord Burleigh, that he alleged St. Augustine's authority in this Article only up to a certain point. Parker wrote: "Sir,—I have considered what your Honour wrote to me this morning concerning St. Augustine's authority in the Article, in the first original agreed upon, and I am still advisedly in mine opinion *concerning so much, wherefore they be alleged in the Article.*" Now, as has been observed, to say that the words of St. Augustine were alleged only "*concerning so much,*" implies that

they received in themselves, though they have no share in them, no benefit from them, the Body and Blood of Christ.

Even supposing that we had no light thrown on the true interpretation of this Article from St. Augustine, from other Fathers, or from the Prayer-Book, it seems that its own words, "*but rather to their condemnation,*" are the key to the whole. The Article is antithetical. One member of the antithesis, is, "In no wise are they partakers of Christ." The other is, "But rather to their condemnation they eat and drink," &c. These two members must be logically opposed. The idea denied in the first must be the opposite to that which is affirmed in the second. But the idea affirmed in the second is that of *condemnation.* Therefore the idea denied in the first must be that of *justification.* Justification, then, must be implied in the partaking of Christ; in other words, the partaking of Christ means a beneficial reception only.

The popular objection has no weight at all, except by importing into the words of the Article a meaning which they will not bear. The Article does not deny (God forbid!) that we receive orally the Body and Blood of Christ; it does not say, that by faith we feed on Christ at the Right Hand of God, contemplating Him there. It is speaking of beneficial reception only. It had said, that "to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the Bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of Christ."

It anew states this, "Faith is the mean whereby we beneficially receive it."

An argument has been drawn from the heading of the Article, "which eat not the Body of Christ," that the Church of England meant to deny that they receive it at all, not to assert that they receive no benefit from it. But since the body of the Article only says that "the wicked are in no wise partakers of Christ," (which, plainly, they cannot be,) then the heading cannot be held to contain more than this. For no heading of an Article or Canon (any more than of an Act of Parliament) may lawfully be employed to introduce into the substance of such Article or Canon, a meaning which the grammatical structure of the words of such Article or Canon does not admit. Nor can the

ARTICLE XXX.

De utraque Specie.

Calix Domini laicis non est denegandus; utraque enim pars Dominici Sacramenti ex Christi institutione et præcepto, omnibus Christianis ex æquo administrari debet.

Of both Kinds.

"The Cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the lay people; for both the parts of the Lord's Sacrament, by Christ's ordinance and commandment, ought to be ministered to all Christian men alike.

The Utraquist controversy involves principles even more important than the actual point ruled. Right as it is that in an ordinance "so mysterious, so closely appertaining to the Sacrament of our Lord's Passion and of our redemption, there should be no infringement of our Lord's commands[a]," the change from that which was in the beginning divinely instituted, involves nothing less than that the living Church has the power to alter not only that which stood upon an unbroken tradition of nearly twelve hundred years, but that which was done "by Christ's

[a] Cyp., *ad Corc., Ep.* lxiii.

ordinance and commandment." It was not till the time of the Schoolmen that the mind of the Church seriously set itself to the matter in hand. The danger of irreverence had suggested before this means for securing the consecrated elements from profanation. In the Greek Church the Body of the Lord had been administered with a spoon, after it had been dipped in the Blood. The Blood had been received through a golden pipe to prevent any accident. It was reserved for the Scholastic era to solve the difficulty by the withdrawal of the Chalice from all but the celebrant. This was not effected without resistance. In Bohemia, as all know, it was the occasion of wars and persecutions. In England, the Cup could not be withdrawn without the

useful but actually hurtful. He passes briefly by the first point, on the ground that God has not so tied His power to Sacraments, as not to be able to save souls but in that way, and devotes himself to the next head, which he maintains 1. by the divine law; 2. by the practice of our Lord; 3. by the authority of General Councils; 4. by the dicta of doctors.

1. Under the first of these heads he quotes three texts in the sixth chapter of St. John, where there are so many allusions to the true Bread and none to the true Wine.

2. Under the second, he draws an analogy from the multiplication of the loaves; also he cites the Lord's Prayer, "Give us this day our supersubstantial bread."

3. Under the head of Councils, after some special pleading for a Canon in the Sixth General Council, he tries to turn the Canon of the eleventh of Toledo, where a previous Canon with regard to reception had been modified, to a very opposite purpose from what was intended. He thinks that the second Canon of the Council of Rheims testifies to the practice. He also cites the Council of Worms.

4. He rests much on the custom of the Church, shewing, that though the custom varied, there were early testimonies to the practice. He quotes Pope Innocent allowing consecration in one kind only, in regions where wine cannot be got, and adduces many of the Schoolmen:—Alexander Ales, Albertus Magnus, St. Thomas, St. Bonaventura, Petrus de Tarantasia, and Ricardus de Media Villa. After going into ab-

stract reasons for the practice, he states that the motives which induced the Church to insist on it was the danger of spilling the species; the danger of corruption; the practical assertion of the truth that Christ is *totus sub utraque specie;* the special honour of the sacerdotal state, and the recognition of a state of languor which had come over the Church, the laity in the days of martyrdom having pressed for the communion of the Chalice, a condition which no longer existed.

Not a word is said of "They all drank of it[d];" nor of the authority of St. Paul in the Corinthians. He does not meet the distinct testimony to the universal practice of the early Fathers, such as Justin Martyr[e],

Gelasius to Bishops Majoricus and John:—'But we have learnt,' says Gelasius, 'that certain persons, after having received only the portion of the sacred Body, abstain from the Chalice of the sacred Blood. Which persons, without doubt (because they are said to be bound by I know not what superstition), should either partake of the Sacraments in their entirety, or be excluded from the entire Sacraments, BECAUSE THE DIVISION OF ONE AND THE SAME MYSTERY CANNOT TAKE PLACE WITHOUT GREAT SACRILEGE.'" Before him, St. Leo[i] excommunicated certain African Manichæans, who from their wicked principles objected to the Sacramental Cup.

However, while we have the evidence that universally in the public and solemn Liturgy of the Church, the faithful received the Blessed Eucharist under both species till the twelfth century, it is due to historical truth to state that there were certain practices which shewed that in cases of necessity, communion under one kind was considered lawful. For example, the early Christians carried home the Blessed Sacrament in a linen cloth called a dominicum, but we have no record of the holy Blood being reserved in a phial. In St. Cyprian[j] we have an account of a child being communicated under the species of wine. It was carried on the breast, at sea, in an orarium, as in the case of St. Birinus, Apostle of Wessex. Again, the saints in the desert carried away the Blessed Sacrament in the species of bread, and in some cases the

[i] *Serm.* iv. *Quadr.*

[j] *De Lapsis*, vi. 16.

sick when communicated from the reserved Sacrament received in that kind only. Children, as we have just seen, received only under the species of wine[k]. These instances, and they go over a great range, not only serve to console one under the contemplation of the fact that the Occidental Church causes all but the celebrant to abstain from the Sacrament of the Cup, but also illustrate how the mind of the Church became trained to the thought that it might dispense with the Chalice without danger of invalidating the Sacrament. They shew that those thus deprived lose not any grace necessary to salvation. Still it is to be deplored that the matter has been thus ruled, for:—

I. It brings the practice of the Church into an un-

and to persecution and treachery, as in the case of John Huss, and the Bohemians. However defended on the score of reverence, it ought never to have formed a cause of such severities as were practised. The whole story is a sad one, and discreditable to the persons concerned therein.

III. But the most serious thing is, that according to the best theologians something is lost by the deprivation. While the Sacrament under one kind conveys all the graces necessary to salvation, the Chalice has a special grace of its own—the grace of gladdening. If the Sacraments cause that which they signify, the species of bread and wine must signify in different ways; and that diversity will refer, both to the sign, and to the mode of the signifying, and to the thing signified. Therefore, the effect of the two will not be common but diverse. Both species together signify the plenitude of the heavenly feast and the perfect satisfaction of the soul, which each by itself does not signify.

While it is granted that either species refects us by causing habitual grace, there are certain secondary effects of the spiritual meat and drink: that of the meat is to strengthen the weak, as it is written, "and bread to strengthen man's heart;" that of drink is to give joy to the sad, "and wine that maketh glad the heart of man [l]," is that spiritual transport, the *inebriatio animæ*, of which the Scripture speaks [m].

[l] Ps. civ. 15.

[m] Vide Lugo, *de Sacramento Eucharistiæ*, dist. xvi. sect. iii. p. 488, ed. Migne, 1841.

Indeed, to say that the Cup has not a gift over and above the other species, would be to contradict the Church, which after reception of the Body, directs that the words be used, "the Blood of our Lord Jesus preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life."

ARTICLE XXXI.

De Unica Christi Oblatione in Cruce perfecta.

Oblatio Christi semel facta perfecta est redemptio, propitiatio, et satisfactio pro omnibus peccatis totius mundi, tam originalibus, quam actualibus. Neque præter illam unicam, est ulla alia pro peccatis expiatio; unde missarum sacrificia, quibus vulgo dicebatur Sacerdotem offerre Christum in remissionem pœnæ, aut culpæ, pro vivis et defunctis, blasphema figmenta sunt, et perniciosæ imposturæ.

"*Of the One Oblation of Christ finished upon the Cross.*

"The offering of Christ once made is the perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual: and there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifices of masses, in the which it was commonly said that the Priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits."

"The breaking of the Bread and the Prayers," which are the terms used for the worship of the primitive Church [a], have from the beginning been invested with

[a] Acts ii. 42.

a sacrificial character. The Greek original of the New Testament brings this out much more strongly than the English translation. Thus, in the Acts of the Holy Apostles, the expression, "as they were ministering," is rendered by the hieratic word λειτουργούντων; the Christian ministers in the person of Christ, τῶν ἁγίων λειτουργὸς [b], are διακόνοις τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης [c]; the worship of the Church of the Gentiles as elected on the ruin of the Jews is the πρόσφορα τῶν ἐθνῶν; not only εὐχαὶ and δεήσεις ('prayers and supplications') but εὐχαριστίαι are to be offered for all men; it is asserted that ἔχομεν θυσιαστήριον, the old Levitical words *adscara*, 'sacrificial commemoration,' rendered ἀνάμνησις and *asah* rendered ποιεῖν by the

remark: "Thus Jesus Christ has established the Sacrifice of the New Testament, which the Church offers to God throughout the whole world, according to the teaching handed down by the Apostles." He states that it is the Word Who is offered in this Sacrifice[i].

Origen[k] asserts that in the Christian Churches there is a Sacrifice, at once commemorative and propitiatory, that is to say, the Eucharist.

St. Cyprian[l], who had occasion to enter upon the consideration of the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist with a view to satisfying the scruples of certain ignorant and simple persons who demurred at the use of wine in these holy mysteries, asks:—"Who is more a Priest of the Most High God than our Lord Jesus Christ, Who offered a sacrifice to God the Father, and offered the same which Melchisedek had offered, i.e. bread and wine, namely, His own Body and Blood?" In the same letter he says:—"If Jesus Christ our Lord and God is Himself the great High-Priest of God the Father, and first offered Himself a Sacrifice to the Father, and commanded this to be done in remembrance of Himself, surely that priest truly acts in Christ's stead, who imitates that which Christ did; and he then offers a true and full sacrifice in the Church to God the Father, when he begins to offer it according as he sees Christ Himself offered it."

St. Cyril of Jerusalem, in his "Catechism," which is very important as shewing the actual practical in-

[i] St. Iren., iv. 18, n. 4.

[k] *In Lev. Hom.* xiii. n. 3.

[l] *Ep.* lxiii.

struction of the Church of his time, says, without oratorical periphrasis, "We offer Jesus Christ immolated for our sins [m]."

But a still clearer evidence of the faith of the early Church is to be found in the early Liturgies. The parts of these which are found in all, and are thus traced up to a common ancestry of unwritten tradition, are so venerable in their antiquity, that many great scholars have maintained that they are more ancient than the later epistles. In any case, they are documents of the highest authority, and unimpeachable witnesses to primitive practice. Now, in all these without exception, we have the distinctest enunciation of the Sacrificial character of the Holy Eucharist. In

mony,) we are safe in accepting the truth, that in view of the imperfection of the Levitical rites, and of His Eternal Priesthood after the order of Melchisedek, our Lord,—although He was about to offer Himself once for all upon the altar of the Cross to His Father, by means of His death to obtain eternal redemption for us, yet because His is an abiding Priesthood, in order that He might leave to the Church a visible rite whereby the bloody Sacrifice once for all to be accomplished on the Cross might be represented, remembered till the end of the world, and its virtue applied to the remission of sins as they are committed,—at the Last Supper, in the night that He was betrayed, offered to God the Father His own Body and Blood under the form of Bread and Wine, delivered Them to the Apostles, and, by the words "This do in remembrance of Me," commanded them and their successors thus to shew forth His death till He come again.

One cannot find any contradiction between this Article and the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice thus stated. In the words of Mr. Palmer[n]: "The Article condemning the sacrifices of masses, in which it was commonly said that Christ was offered for the quick and dead for the remission of pain or guilt,"—"rightly censures that erroneous view of the Sacrifice, but does not declare against the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice rightly understood." And elsewhere: "The Thirty-first Article is directed against the vulgar and heretical doctrine of the *reiteration* of Christ's Sacrifice

[n] Treatise on the Church, vol. i. p. 400, ed. 1842.

in the Eucharist. It was those 'missarum sacrificia, quibus vulgo dicebatur sacerdotem offerre Christum in remissionem pœnæ, aut culpæ, pro vivis et defunctis,' which are pronounced 'blasphema figmenta et perniciosæ imposturæ;' but not 'missarum sacrificia,' as understood by the Fathers, and in an orthodox sense. The Article was directed against the errors maintained and countenanced by such men as Soto, Hardinge, &c., who, by rejecting the doctrine of a Sacrifice by way of commemoration and consecration, and not literally identical with that on the Cross, and by their crude and objectionable mode of expression, countenanced the vulgar error that the Sacrifice of the Eucharist or mass was in every respect equal to that

hearts condemn) 'as blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits,' 'the sacrifices of masses, in the which it was commonly said that the Priest did offer Christ for the quick and dead to have remission from pain or guilt,'—we know and heartily rejoice. But this is very far, indeed, from saying or meaning that the Eucharist hath not 'a propitiatory virtue,' and we must be very careful how we deny that virtue to it. The consecrated elements ought not to be separated in our minds from the propitiation for our sins, continually presented for us before the throne of God. Whether we regard them in correspondence with the meat-offerings and drink-offerings of the Old Testament, as memorials of the one great Sacrifice, and so, in union with that Sacrifice, by virtue of Christ's appointment, representing and pleading to the Father the atonement finished on the Cross—or as answering to those portions of the typical sacrifices which were eaten by the Priests and offerers — in either case, they are intimately united with the altar in heaven and with its propitiatory virtue. 'In these holy mysteries,' in an especial manner, heaven and earth are brought together. *Sursum Corda.* 'Therefore with angels and archangels, and all the company of heaven, *we* laud and magnify Thy holy Name.' The partakers of the Sacrifice, are partakers of the altar and of all its inestimable benefits, the first of which is the propitiation for our sins. For, in the Eucharist, as a *Sacrament*, 'we eat our *ransom*,' as St. Augustine says,—we receive spiritually 'the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ which

was given for us,' 'the Blood which was shed for us;' in the same Eucharist as *a Sacrifice*, we, in representation, *plead* the one great Sacrifice which our Great High Priest continually presenteth for us in heaven. In heaven, He presenteth ever before the Father, in person, Himself,—mediating with the Father as our intercessor; on earth He invisibly sanctifies what is offered, and makes the earthly elements, which we offer, to be sacramentally and ineffably—but not in a carnal way—His Body and Blood. For although once for all offered, that Sacrifice, be it remembered, is ever LIVING AND CONTINUOUS, made to be continuous by the resurrection of our Lord. Accordingly, St. John tells us, in Rev. v. 6, 12, that he beheld, and lo in the midst of the throne stood a Lamb as it had

words "wherefore" and "satisfaction." Any construction which condemns a doctrine of Eucharistic Sacrifice consistent with the first sentence of the Article, makes it self-contradictory, inasmuch as the Article expressly confines itself to excluding any notion which would militate against the perfection of the offering of Christ once made upon the Cross, as being the only "satisfaction for sin." For "there is but one real, true, and proper Sacrifice, viz. the offering which the Incarnate Son of God made of Himself upon the Cross to the Eternal Father."

The Sacrifice in the Eucharist is substantially the same as the Sacrifice of the Cross, because the Priest is the same in both, and the Victim is the same in both; just as the Sacrifice which Christ the eternal Priest is now presenting to His Father in heaven, is the same which He offered upon the Cross, because He Himself is the same Victim and Priest both in one. But there is a difference. There is a difference in the manner of offering. In heaven Christ is not offering Himself in the same manner as He did upon the Cross. We cannot rightfully censure or approve the first part of this proposition, without consideration of the second. If we deny the first as contradictory to the Article, we must deny the second, for it also affirms a Sacrifice of Christ distinct in the manner of offering from that on the Cross,—distinct both as not meriting any more, and as not accompanied by suffering—and so far both statements stand in the same relation to the statement in the Article; if the

second is not contradictory, neither is the first. Are we prepared to say that the second statement in the proposition, "The Sacrifice which Christ the eternal Priest is now presenting to His Father in Heaven, is the same which He offered upon the Cross," is contradictory to the Article, and is equivalent to setting up another meritorious Sacrifice? If not, there is no confusion of thought. While the Sacrifice is continuous, the Satisfaction, properly so called, is not so. The "atonement," as meritorious, was finished upon the Cross.

If the doctrine be said to be antagonistic to the statement, "Christ in His Holy Gospel hath commanded us to continue a perpetual memorial of that

which, offered as it was year by year continually, was in kind the same sacrifice with that originally offered in Egypt, yet truly a memorial of it. When, therefore, the Homily says, "we must be careful that we do not of a memory make it a Sacrifice," we may not understand it as though the two ideas were inconsistent, but rather as follows: 'It is not to be accounted a distinct and independent Sacrifice; we must never use it or think of it apart from its relation to the One Great and True Sacrifice which had gone before.' And this is no doubt St. Chrysostom's meaning, when having said, "we celebrate no other Sacrifice, but the same always," he as it were qualifies his words, adding, "or rather we make a remembrance of a Sacrifice;" i. e. it was never to be forgotten that this rite, though most truly a Sacrifice, was so by being the memorial of the One Sacrifice on the Cross. Memory, then, is not inconsistent with Sacrifice. If it were, there could be no Sacrifice of the Altar at all.

The next point which requires to be considered is the assertion of the futility of the sacrifices of masses in reference to the quick and the dead. It is not inconsistent with this to assert that 'We pray that the whole Church may receive, through this Sacrifice, the benefit of the Lord's Passion, each, of course, according to his need and capacity of receiving. Whence the Eucharist is called by some of the Fathers a Sacrifice for the Living and the Dead.' Where a word is absolutely necessary to convey a meaning, the use of that word must be risked, but always with

careful explanations. We are not content with saying the Church simply, nor yet the whole Church, but we say "all the whole Church [q]," that there may be neither limitation nor reserve in our application of the Sacrifice. And as the Church, in the amplitude of its extent, embraces both worlds, the visible and the invisible, we must be understood to pray and to offer for all the living members of Christ's Body, whether sojourning with us here on earth, or departed hence in the Lord—for we cannot offer for all the whole Church unless we do, when we comprehend all who are in it, all who are united to Christ, all who are *one* with us in that mystical Body which is the fulness of Him Who filleth all in all. It is no new use of the term

mon origin, yet vary sufficiently to become concurrent testimonies in favour of any doctrine which they agree in expressing.

And secondly, it may be further said that the application of the blessed Eucharist to the departed, must in our Church stand and fall with the practice of prayers for the dead. In its aspect of the great oblation, the Holy Communion may be considered as prayer in its most intense and highest form. If it is unlawful to pray for the faithful departed, it must be unlawful to remember them in the sacred mysteries; but if the first practice be permitted, the second must be so likewise. The Church of England has judicially ruled in her Supreme Tribunal, that prayer for the Dead is not unlawful[r].

It cannot be doubted that in the very earliest and purest ages of the Church, it was universally believed that the celebration of the Holy Eucharist had special reference to the faithful departed. Tertullian[s]:— "Wherefore does she pray for his (her husband's) soul, and begs for him in the meantime refreshment, and a share in the first resurrection, and offers for him on the anniversary of his death." St. Cyprian[t], providing against the clergy becoming executors, says that the Bishops who preceded him resolved that there should be no oblation for such, nor should the sacrifice be celebrated for his repose ("nec sacrificium pro dormitione ejus celebraretur"). The passage in St. Cyril's

[r] Case of Woolfrey *v.* Breeks, Stephens's Clergy Law, i. 191.

[s] *De Monog.*, n. x. [t] *Ep.* i. *ad Cler. et Pleb. Furnis.*

Catechism is well-known:—"Also on behalf of the holy Fathers and Bishops who have fallen asleep before us, and of all in spirit who have already fallen asleep among us, believing that it will be of very great assistance to the souls, for which prayer is raised while the holy and most awful Sacrifice lies before us." St. Macarius[u], of Alexandria, discusses the subject of the advantage that accrues to the soul when "an oblation is offered up to God in the Church for the dead." St. Epiphanius, in controversy with Aerius[v], asserts and defends the practice of making a commemoration of the just, and on behalf of sinners: "on behalf of sinners supplicating for mercy from God, and for the just . . .

His Blood for our redemption, still discharging the yet unpaid penalty for human guilt; that the sacrificial work, in all its essentials of suffering, dying, and atoning, instead of being finished, must be still only in progress of accomplishment; that, in fact, there is a propitiation of the same merit, nature, power, and efficacy, that Christ's offering on the Cross was not the alone satisfaction for sin; that one must deny that the oblation of Christ was finished upon the Cross; that one must believe that that Sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist re-enacts the Sacrifice of the Cross in all its essential entirety; that one must hold our Lord's eternal Priesthood to consist in His being an eternal victim, that is, suffering and dying to atone; that this belief, to be consistent, implies not only that Christ undergoes in another mode the Sacrifice of the Cross, but that His Sacrifice of Himself was insufficient, inasmuch as a repetition is tantamount to insufficiency of the first act of sacrifice.

Now all this is more than met by the thought that that one Sacrifice and its all-sufficient merits live on, as in our Lord's perpetual presentation of Himself in heaven, so in our Eucharistical Oblation of His Body and Blood sacramentally present on our altars. We have nothing apart from that One Sacrifice; our Eucharistic Oblation is not something in and for itself; something independent of that One Sacrifice, even while it pleaded it. Such is its union with that Sacrifice, that it is a perpetual application of its virtue; yet not as something distinct, but as united with it

through the oneness of that which is offered, that same Body of Christ offered on the Cross to make atonement for the sins of the whole world and for each one of us, offered and presented to the Father, in heaven and in the Church below, on the "altar above," and on the Holy Table, in pleading and for application of the Atonement once for all wrought upon the holy Cross. On the Cross that offering was made once for all with shedding of Blood; on earth the offering is made in an unbloody manner, as the ancient Church attests. On the Cross, that offering merited the salvation of the world; on the Altar, Christ being risen from the dead, dieth no more, but the fruit of that death is made over to the faithful. On the Cross, the full satis-

without shedding of blood, or without sacrificial slaying, on the Altar. And this is further illustrated 1. by a comparison of our acts on earth with our Lord's everlasting Priesthood in heaven. Since His perpetual presentation of His pleading Body there, (by which continual intercession He obtains for us all grace,) does not interfere with the completeness of the Sacrifice on the Cross, so neither does the corresponding presentation on earth in the Eucharistic Sacrifice. 2. Other objections are to be met by stating the belief of the Fathers,—1. that there is a real sacrifice in the Holy Eucharist; 2. that what is offered is the Body and Blood of Christ, invisibly and sacramentally present with us, but still the same Body which our Saviour offered for us in His own meritorious Sacrifice on the Cross; (for although His Body is present with us in a different way, it is still the same Body, for our Blessed Lord hath not two Bodies, but one only;) 3. that by offering and pleading this, we, if there be no let or hindrance on man's part, obtain the more readily the grace of God which we entreat for.

The matter may be made clearer by the distinction between "the active and passive sacrifice," i.e. sacrifice as "the action of offering," and sacrifice as "the thing offered." It is simply an ambiguity in our language, in which we use the same word (as is noticed in Johnson's Dictionary,) for 1. "the act of offering;" 2. "the thing offered." Theologians use the word "sacrifice" in the one English sense, of "the

thing offered;" those who object to their teaching take it in the other, of "the act of offering." Article XXXI. uses the word sacrifice in the sense of "the *act* of offering." In this sense every one must affirm what the Article affirms, (it is a simple and fundamental matter of faith.) As an act of immolation, atonement, satisfaction, the offering of Christ was "finished once for all."

With all which men, educated in imperfect systems of theology, say on the perfectness and all-sufficiency of our Lord's act of oblation—His active Sacrifice—one must most entirely concur. It is a matter of rejoicing (amid the misbelief in many quarters at the present day) to observe the jealousy for the mainten-

entire in itself. Although extending in its effects throughout eternity, the Sacrifice of Christ—i.e. His act of sacrificing Himself, His shedding of His precious Blood for man's salvation, His dying for us, atoning for us, meriting for us, making intercession for us,—is, in time, place, and circumstances, a thing of the past. It was *laying down His life*, dying, voluntarily submitting to death; and death, when really fulfilled, is an accomplished fact, a thing past and complete in itself. Again, the Sacrifice of Christ *was offered upon the Cross;* it was the act of a certain specific time and place, as distinct from all other occasions and places. The Sacrifice of the Cross was, moreover, *a perfect act of atonement and satisfaction* for the sins of the whole world, which Christ alone was able to make, and did make by the single act of dying, and which, when made, was ended as complete and sufficient for its purpose.

Every Christian must believe this. And so, on the other hand, every Christian must repudiate the fearful errors which are ignorantly supposed to follow from the true doctrine, "there never can be any other sacrifice (i.e. any other act of sacrifice) identical with the Sacrifice of the Cross." Assuredly not. No one ever said so. All that is said is with St. Chrysostom, What *we* offer is the Same which our blessed Lord then offered for us. Obviously, to say or imply that Christ was still laying down His life for the sheep, still shedding His Blood for our redemption, still discharging the yet unpaid penalty for human guilt, is more than a con-

travention of the Thirty-first Article; it is blasphemy.

But it has sometimes been said, the distinction between "the action of offering," which was completed, perfected, finished, once for all upon the altar of the Cross, "and the Thing offered," must be set aside on the ground that where the offerer is the same and the thing or person offered the same, the act of offering must be the same also. Will the reasoning hold? Apply it to the ritual of the Day of Atonement. It was the same pontiff who immolated the victim outside the tabernacle, and who presented its blood within the holy of holies; the latter function being described by the Apostle as the *offering* of the blood[z]; a phrase

our Lord's meritorious death on Calvary would not be "perfect," or "once made," but continuous.

The Fathers mean by their saying, that our Blessed Lord, now too, "is the Offerer and the Oblation," that "the Sacrifice here below is part of His Melchizedekean priesthood. He invisibly consecrates; He invisibly offers." Our Lord invisibly offers, in that He invisibly consecrates. St. Ambrose says:—"though Christ is not now seen to offer, yet Himself is offered on earth, when the Body of Christ is offered; yea, Himself is plainly seen to offer in us, Whose Word sanctifieth the Sacrifice which is offered[s]." Christ now, also, doth invisibly and efficaciously all which is done in His Name. Christ baptizeth, although not in the same mode as He baptized on earth. Christ absolveth, although not in the same mode as when He said to the penitent before Him, "Thy sins are forgiven thee." Christ consecrateth, Whose word of power consecrates, although not in the same mode as on the night before His Passion. Christ is the only Teacher, although not in the same mode as when He spake the Sermon on the Mount. He comforteth, though not in the same way as when He said on earth, "Be of good cheer," or "Peace be unto you." So neither does it follow, nor is it true, that because our Lord, by His word, still consecrates our offering, He is the Offerer in the same way as when, on the night before He suffered, He anticipated the assault of the Jews, "according to the mode of His priestly act, ineffable

[s] In Ps. xxxviii. § 25, p. 852.

and invisible to man, and offered Himself as an Offering and Sacrifice for us, Priest at once, and 'the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world [b].'" He offered Himself by anticipation at the last Supper; He offered Himself in deed by His meritorious death on the Cross; He offereth Himself by presenting Himself, our High-Priest for ever, in the presence of the Father in heaven; He mystically offereth Himself in the Holy Eucharist, not only in that He consecrateth by His word the gifts which He has taught us to offer for a memorial of Himself, but that, being Sacramentally present, He is "precious in the eyes of the Father." Yet because He Himself is the agent in all, it follows not that He

nor the English "victim" means "one enduring death." The Latin means, if we accept the authority of Facciolati, "a thing *destined to be* sacrificed," or "which has been sacrificed." For the English, Johnson gives the original and metaphoric meaning: 1. "A sacrifice, something *slain* for a sacrifice. 2. Something destroyed." The act of being offered was ordinarily so brief as not to be taken into account. The only idea which the word "victim" had *not*, was "enduring death." It continued a victim, after death, until it was consumed. Animal sacrifices perish; our Great Sacrifice abideth. The title belonged to Him before He was slain. For He is the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world. It applied to Him in the same sense, and in the same sense only, while He was dying. For His Death consummated the Sacrifice. It applies to Him equally now, as the Lamb which hath been slain, and is most especially applicable to Him who "appears," or "exhibits Himself," continually before God for us, with all His saving wounds, the tokens of His Passion. An eternal Priesthood implies, by the necessity of the case, *something to be perpetually offered*, and that which is perpetually offered for us by our Melchizedek is the Body of Jesus.

Many of these objections flow from an inadequate belief in the doctrine of the perpetual Priesthood of our Lord and His unceasing intercession for the whole Church. It is to be feared that some hold, rather, that having made His one Oblation upon the Cross, He has now ceased from any exclusively priestly function. Is

their idea of His intercession more than that of an oral all-prevailing prayer? But God hath said, "Thou art a High-Priest for ever." And He is not in such wise a High-Priest, that He can be imagined separate from the Sacrifice which He once offered. For that Sacrifice was Himself. That Sacrifice is His Manhood, never to be divided from His Godhead. He has carried within the veil that Holy Body, once wounded for our transgressions, and those very wounds, which He shewed to St. Thomas, now resplendent in glory, still move the Father to look upon the face of His Anointed, and for His sake freely to give us all things. And as this is no derogation from the oneness and completeness of our Lord's atoning act on Calvary, so neither is it a derogation therefrom that we in

ARTICLE XXXII.

De Conjugio Sacerdotum.

Episcopis, Presbyteris, et Diaconis nullo mandato divino præceptum est, ut aut cœlibatum voveant, aut a matrimonio abstineant. Licet igitur etiam illis, ut cæteris omnibus Christianis, ubi hoc ad pietatem magis facere judicaverint, pro suo arbitratu matrimonium contrahere.

"*Of the Marriage of Priests.*

"Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, are not commanded by God's law either to vow the estate of single life, or to abstain from marriage: therefore it is lawful for them, as for all other Christian men, to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness."

The first point here to be observed is the title, and though we have observed that there is a certain looseness in the use of terms in the titles of the Articles, yet here and there there are indications of a set purpose in the phraseology used. Now both the title and the contents of the Article of 1571 differ from the earlier digest. In the title of Article XXXI. of 1553, it is laid down categorically, "The state of single life is commanded of no man by the word of God;" or as it is said in the Latin, *Cœlibatus ex verbo Dei præcipitur*

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wards it was sometimes with and sometimes without the specification *secundi ordinis*, used for the Presbyterate; the including the Diaconate in the term, shews how high in the Article is the estimate of all the orders according to the old definition: — "Sacerdos, quasi sacrum dans, a Dei mysteria administrando[b]." The early use of *sacerdos* and *levita* for Priest and Deacon, derived into the Christian phraseology through the Vulgate, shews how completely the new law was looked upon as the continuation and supplement of the old law.

The proposition that the celibacy of the priesthood is not *jure divino* is absolutely Catholic. It has ever been regarded as a matter of pure discipline, varying with the different ages, and the necessities of the Church. The law might be relaxed to-morrow over the whole world; but it is the distinguishing feature of Christianity to be at once both real and ideal. It throws itself into the world, accepts the complex phenomena of civilization, and deals with men as it finds them. And yet it never loses sight of the thought that its real home is not on earth but in heaven, and that it has to transmute the elements of this world into a higher order. Compounded of the divine and the human, it has to subdue and elevate its inferior nature, and the actions of this mixed creation are referred to celestial personality. The divine Person of our Lord shines down upon His work, and just as it was the Divinity and not the Humanity which supplied the

[b] Ducange, *ad verb.*

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we are partakers, and through
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of men, and make them live so as
they might attain everlasting life,
as we have seen in a previous Artic
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Christianity, the highest manifestations of the results of the Gospel; a law, not for all but for the few: yet these few, lights of the world in their several generations.

A view like this could not but profoundly affect the sacerdotal requirement. Even in the lowest types of Christianity, as has been already stated under Article XXVI., it is always expected that the clergy shall be an example to the flock, shall lead a somewhat stricter life than others, shall abstain from certain harmless amusements, and deny themselves in what is permitted freely to their people. Still more was this the case in the early Church, when the new religion in all its strength was the regenerating power of the world; when, in the face of a corrupt and effete Paganism, it was giving new life to society. Then the demand for any high qualifications in the clergy naturally took the shape of an exaction of adherence to the Counsels of Perfection. Yet neither our Lord, nor His Apostles, nor again their successors the early Bishops, strained human nature beyond what it could bear. While our Lord laid down the rule of perfection for such as could bear it, He allowed the Apostles to choose as clergy men who were married once[d]. St. Paul makes provision for the conduct of

[d] "He [St. Paul] says that a Bishop must be blameless, husband of one wife. He so saith, not enacting this as a law, but hindering unrestrainedness." St. Chrys. *in* 1 *Tim.*, *Hom.* x. The Bishop of Thyatira, consecrated probably by St. John, was, according to the undoubted reading (Rev. ii. 20), married, though his marriage turned out ill. "*Thy* wife, Jezebel." "The word σου is in the best and oldest

The injunction to St. Titus at
as were married, were married
Greek Church was very strict
tation.

The Apostolic Canons, or An
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away their wives on plea of reli
and those who have married wid
absolutely forbid marriage after
cæsarea, in 314, Priests married
to be degraded[g]. At Ancyra t
down, but Deacons signifying thei
ing before ordination may do
Gangra condemned those, who, m
teaching of Eustathius, the Se
Sebaste, on marriage, would no
from a married priest, as thou
minister[i].

The abuse of the συμπαρε-

however, implies a co-existent life of celibacy both of men and women. For to celibates only could there either be temptation to, or plea for, this strange and perilous custom. There are notices of its extending to some few clergy, and this implies an existing custom of clerical celibacy. For when corrupt ways or self-deceits are noticed, it implies that such self-deceit was an exception. The abuse was the resource of those, who having, in whatever way or on whatever ground, given up marriage, wished for the solace of the intimate society of the other sex, meaning no sin, though too often, after a time, involved in it. St. Cyprian, indeed, who first mentions the abuse, expressly states that one Deacon only was involved in it; and *he* was at once excommunicated[j]. But in Antioch, which the heathenized Paul of Samosata did what in him lay to demoralize (A.D. 260), a formal name (*συνεισάκτοι*) was invented by the inhabitants for those virgins who were domiciled among men. Paul himself had several such with him, as had his Presbyters and Deacons[k]. This, then, is a trace of celibacy of clergy, even in the luxurious Antioch. They were living as celibates, till Paul corrupted them. Leontius, who, when a Priest, was deposed for this practice in an aggravated form[l], was also an insulated case; yet

[j] See St. Cypr., *Ep. ad Pompon.*, p. 7, and note in Oxford Translation. In *Ep.* xiv., St. Cyprian speaks of the Presbyters and Deacons as restraining these evils.

[k] *Ep. Synod. Conc. Ant. in Eus.*, H. E. vii. 30.

[l] St. Ath., *Apol. pro fuga*, § 26; *Ep. ad Mon.*, § 38. The Synod of Ancyra forbade virgins to live as "sisters" with any, can. 19, but with-

each such bad case implies that celibacy had an eminence, which bad men wished to attain without its sacrifices.

At the Council of Nicæa it was proposed to forbid the use of marriage to Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, who had married as laymen. It was "vehemently resisted" by St. Paphnutius, an aged confessor, as "a heavy yoke which ought not to be imposed on consecrated men, lest from excessive preciseness the Church should be injured." His authority, the more strong because he himself had led a virgin-life, was sufficient to prevent any law being made upon the subject. Marriage, then, among the clergy remained unforbidden. St. Gregory Nazianzen was the son of

an extensive clerical celibacy, which it protects from scandal. St. Epiphanius says, that "the priesthood sets out mostly from virgins, or, if not, from monks; but if they suffice not for the service, from such as are continent as to their own wives, or are widowers from a single marriage[o]." "This," he says, "prevailed as to Deacon, Priest, Bishop, and Subdeacon, especially where the Canons of the Church were accurately observed[p]." "In some places," he adds, "Presbyters, Deacons, and Subdeacons had children, because men's minds had grown relaxed, and, for the multitude, Clergy were not found." St. Jerome, who says that some Bishops required those whom they ordained to be previously married, and that the people sometimes preferred to elect married Priests to be Bishops, lays it down broadly as the rule of the East [i.e. the Patriarchate of Antioch] and Egypt, as well as Rome, that the Clerks should be either virgins or continent, whether out of or in marriage[q]. Yet his saying that there were "as many twice-married Bishops as at Ariminum[r]" [300], though vaguely said and spoken apparently of such twice-married, as had married once only since their Baptism, implies an extensive married clergy.

Origen had laid down, as the ground of clerical continency, St. Paul's words, that the married were not to defraud one another, except by consent for a season, that they might give themselves unto prayer. If so,

[o] *Expos. fid.*, n. 21.
[p] *Hær.* 59, n. 4.
[q] *Adv. Vigil.*, n. 2.
[r] *Ep.* lxix., *ad Ocean.* § 2, 3.

"it is certain that the perpetual sacrifice is impeded to those subject to conjugal necessities. Whence it seems to me, that to offer the perpetual sacrifice belongs to him alone, who should have devoted himself to unceasing and perpetual chastity[s]." Eusebius follows him, when comparing the Gospel with the old law. He quotes St. Paul's words, "the husband of one wife," but adds, "but for the consecrated, who are engaged in the service of God, it is fitting that they refrain themselves from marital intercourse[t]." St. Cyril, of Jerusalem, uses the argument, "if he, who fulfils *well*[u] the office of Jesus' Priest, refrains himself from women[x]," against those who denied the Incarnation. St. Gregory of Nyssa urges Moses' command[y] as a ground

might gain what they ask of God [a]. Bishops were forbidden to do this, on pain of deposition [b]. If a married Priest was advanced to the Episcopate, his wife, having first been separated by mutual consent, was, after his consecration, to enter some distant monastery, being provided for by the Bishop [c].

In the West, Tertullian stated it to be an admitted rule, that a second marriage excluded from orders. "I remember some twice-married to have been deposed from their order." "No other *can be* a Priest, than he who, as a layman, had only once been a husband [d]." Elsewhere he insults the Catholics for having twice-married Bishops [e]. The inconsistency is nothing strange in Tertullian; perhaps the solution may lie in the different senses given to 'digamus,' which sometimes includes those only who married twice after their baptism, sometimes those also, who, as Christians, had married once only [f]. Hippolytus, however, in the *Philosophumena*, makes it one of the charges against Pope Calixtus, that they had begun to be lax on this subject. "In his time digamous and trigamous Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, began (ἤρξαντο) to be advanced to the clericate. If any also who was among the clergy (ἐν κλήρῳ ὤν) married, such an one remained

[a] Can. vi., xiii.

[b] Can. xii. The Canon speaks of the custom as prevailing in Africa, Libya, and other places, and of the offence which it occasioned to the people.

[c] Can. xlviii. [d] *De Exhort. Cast.*, c. 7.

[e] *De Monogamia*, c. 12.

[f] See Dr. Pusey on Tertullian, note N, pp. 420—432.

in his office as if he had not sinned[g]." In Spain, the Council of Elvira, A.D. 309, forbade marital intercourse to the three orders, on pain of remotion from their office[h].

The law presupposes, however, the *previous* marriage of many clergy, which is recognised also in another Canon[i], prohibiting a Bishop or any other Clerk to have any other with him, except a sister or a daughter dedicated to God. This implies also that the clergy were of mature age. "Very many (*plurimi*) Priests and Deacons, however, continued to have children in, or even out of marriage," (as St. Siricius states in his answer to Exuperius of Tarragona, A.D. 398,) maintaining this custom on the ground of the Old Testament

and educated under the Bishop's eye, should, at eighteen, be interrogated publicly, as to their wish to marry. From those who so will, they say, "we cannot take away what is granted by the Apostles," but such were to be admitted to Holy Orders only in advanced age, when, by mutual consent, they had renounced the use of marriage [o].

In Africa, in the Council of Carthage, A.D. 428, the same enactment was made as at Elvira, that "what Apostles taught, and antiquity observed, we, too, may keep [p]."

St. Innocent I., in his answer to Victricius, Bishop of Rouen, A.D. 404, abridging the arguments of Siricius, lays down the continence of Priests and Deacons as an Apostolic tradition, observed in the Roman Church [q].

St. Leo's answer to the enquiry of Rusticus, Bishop of Narbonne, whether Deacons were allowed the use of marriage, lays down, as the recognised law of the Church, that the ministers of the altar, equally with the Bishops and Presbyters, were prohibited from this.

[o] Can. i. The eighth Council of Toledo, A.D. 636, forbids the marriage of Subdeacons, as a breach of previous law.

[p] *Conc. Carth.* ii., can. ii. In the fifth Council of Carthage, A.D. 438, (*Cod. Eccl. Afr.*, can. xxv.), this enactment was received as "having been established in diverse Councils." Those who infringed it were to "be removed from the ecclesiastical office."

[q] "For the sake of those who, through ignorance or sloth, do not maintain ecclesiastical discipline, and venture on many things not to be ventured on, thou hast rightly asked that in those parts the form be observed which the Roman Church holds, not so that any new precepts be commanded, but that we wish that those things, which have been neglected through the sloth of some, be observed by all, which yet were constituted by Apostolic tradition and of the fathers."

"In order that from a carnal, it should become a spiritual marriage, they must not send away their wives, yet they must have them as though they had them not, that the love of wedlock may be unimpaired, and the act of marriage may cease[r]." In his letter to Anastasius, Bishop of Thessalonica, he expressly includes the Subdeacon as bound by this law, and lays down that none was to be advanced to the three higher orders, who was found not to have so refrained[s].

In Gaul, the Council of Turin, A.D. 401, forbade those who had children, while in the ministry, to be admitted to higher orders[t]. The first Council of Orange, A.D. 441, forbade any married men to be ordained, unless, with purpose of conversion, they should

to any higher order[a]. The Council of Agde, A.D. 506, enforced "the rule of ecclesiastical life and discipline which had gone from Bishop Siricius to the provinces," incorporating a portion of the letter of Innocent I.[a] The third Council of Orleans, A.D. 538, renewed the old Canon about clerical continency. The second Council of Tours, A.D. 567, had still to re-enact, "that a Bishop should have a wife as a sister;" and that "a Bishop, who had not an *episcopa*, was not to be followed by any crowd of women, but that the ministers of the Church, especially the Clerks who serve the Bishop and ought to guard him, should have liberty to eject strange women from frequent co-dwelling[b]." The Council also states that "not indeed all, but many [*plures*] Archpresbyters of villages, Deacons, and Subdeacons, were suspected by the people of remaining with their wives." It enjoined that they should be accompanied by other Clerks. A Presbyter, Deacon, or Subdeacon, found with his *presbytera*, or *diaconissa*, or *subdiaconissa*, was to be excommunicated for a year, and deposed from all clerical office[c]. The wives, however, of married Priests or Bishops were not withdrawn into convents, as appears from the history of Stephania, wife of Pope Adrian II. In A.D. 868, Eleutherius, who had deceived and married her daughter, being already espoused to another[d], murdered mother and daughter.

The greater strictness of law in the West led to

[a] Can. ii. [a] Can. ix. [b] *Præf.* and can. ii. [c] Can. xii., xiii., xix. [d] Hincmari Remensis *Annales*, A. 868, in Pertz, *Mon. Germ.*, i. 476.

greater laxness of practice. The Western Councils of the ninth century [f], and still more in the tenth century [g], indicate that concubinage prevailed, and a sort of half-recognised marriage was very common. There were frequent Canons of Councils that no son should succeed to the benefice of his father.

The Council of Mayence, A.D. 888, had absolutely to prohibit the clergy from having any females whatever, even the allowed relations, in their dwellings, much guilt, even incest, having been the result [h]. The Council of Metz, in the same year, made the like enactment, though alluding only to the evils [i]. The constitution of Riculfus, Bishop of Soissons [k], A.D. 889, and a Council of Nantes (exact date unknown) refer

Guido, early in the eleventh century, says that this was done throughout Italy [p]. Benedict VIII., in the preface to a Council of Ticino, inveighs against the publicity and extent of these marriages, which, by the provision made for the children, impoverished even wealthy Churches. He re-enacted the old laws, which were confirmed by the Emperor Henry II. (This was between 1014 and 1024). The name *presbyterissæ* was a recognised name, and appeared in public instruments [q]. The instance of the Church of Milan, in which "all the Priests and Deacons," and even the Archbishop was married [r], was the more remarkable on account of the proverbial excellence of its clergy [s]. They had even a tradition that St. Ambrose formally allowed single marriage [t].

The laxity infected even Monastic bodies. In the Celtic provinces of Europe the Church lands came to be hereditary in the Abbot's or Priest's family. Sacerdotalism became hereditary, and the names Mactaggart, the priest's son; MacNab, the abbot's son; Mactavish,

[p] *Disciplina Farfensis*, in *Vetus discipl. Monast.*, Paris, 1726, p. 37.

[q] *Aventinus*, l. v. p. 346. From stress of time the following facts are put together from the authorities given in Gieseler's *Kirchengeschichte*.

[r] Heribert, A. 1019—1046. *Chron. Mediol. in Murat. Scriptt. Rer. Ital.*, t. iv. p. 122, quoted by Gies.

[s] "Mediolanum in clericis, Papia in deliciis, Roma in ædificiis, Ravenna in Ecclesiis." (Landulf, *Hist. Mediol.*, iii. 1.) Gieseler quotes also Anselm of Lucca (Alexander II.), "Unless all the Priests and Deacons of this city had wives, in preaching and in other good manners they were very effective." (Ib. 4.) "The Papal legate, P. Damiani, attested, that 'verily he had never seen such a clergy.'" (Arnulf., *Hist. Med.*, iii. 12.) Ib.

[t] *Land.*, i. 11, quoted ib.

the nun's son, are abiding testimonies of the laxity of the discipline of the Scoto-Irish Church. It was the same throughout Europe, as an accurate historian, Sir James Mackintosh, one by no means likely to over-estimate the work of a great Church-reformer, has declared his opinion, that Gregory VII. intended to save religion in Europe from becoming a caste-religion, like Brahminism, with all the withering influences which such caste-religion implies.

One of that Pontiff's weapons in restoring discipline was the enforcement of clerical celibacy. This was adopted with certain modifications by Lanfranc in 1076, an exception being made for the country clergy who had already married wives; but St. Anselm, in

by the king's officers, and obliged to redeem themselves at a heavy sum. So it was in other Northern kingdoms. The rule of clerical celibacy was enforced with difficulty, and broken. The long list of decrees of Councils against "the concubines, house-keepers (*focariæ*), and servants (*pedissequæ*)" of the clergy [y], is an indication of the efforts to maintain clerical celibacy, and of their failure. Sometimes the Bishops connived at its breach; at times, it is said, "for money or some other temporal advantage [z]," more often, it is to be hoped, looking upon the forbidden quasi-marriage as the least of two evils [a]. The gloss on the decree, that those Clerks, who had offspring, "should be removed from the sacerdotal office [b]," said, "But it is commonly said that for simple fornication one ought not to be deposed, since few are found without that vice." A Chancellor of Paris said publicly, "in the hearing of his whole school, which was full of so many men, of so great account and learning," "that never did the old enemy, in any matter, so circumvent the Church of God as in the utterance of that vow [c]" [of

[y] Schröckh (K. G. Th. 27, pp. 205, 6) enumerates 24, between A. 1207—1302.

[z] Prelates, who should do so, are sentenced to the like penalty with the offenders, by *Conc. Lat.* iv. A. 1215, can. xiv. Both rules were enforced in the *Constitt. Edmund. Cantuar.*, A. 1236, c. 4.

[a] Such quasi-marriages were often, however, contracted with a bad conscience; some changing the person repeatedly [*totiens mutent*], all putting them away *in extremis*. *Antigraphum Petri*, (written between A. 1153—1173) in Gieseler, par. 3, Abschn. 3, § 65, n. d.

[b] *Dist.* 81, c. 6.

[c] Peter Comestor, reported by his pupil, Giraldus Cambr., an ear-witness, in Cave, *Hist. Lit.*

the continency of the clergy]. A celebrated summist lays down, "that a Confessor, who advised an Acolyte, who had not the gift of continency, to marry secretly, evading the eyes of his Bishop, commits no great sin. For we believe it to be a less sin to retain his benefice [contrary to law] with a secret marriage, than to have *fornicaria* against the divine prohibition. But if subsequently he be compelled by his prelates to come to Holy Orders, we believe that it is a less sin, *uxore uti*, than to fornicate with another, if he will not wholly to contain [d]." William Durand, Bishop of Mende, suggested whether, since all the efforts of Councils and Popes had been unavailing, "it would be expedient

In the fourteenth century, a fresh indication of existing evils appears, in that the laity compelled the clergy to take concubines, thinking it necessary for the safety of their own families[g]. In some parts of Ireland and Norway, it was the custom of the country that the Bishops and Priests should have concubines publicly; they accompanied the Prelates on visitations; the *amasiæ*, or wives of the Presbyters, took rank; Presbyters who had none paid double procurations, as infringers of their country's custom[h]. "Much the same ways as to luxury were altogether observed, as to the priests of Gascony, Spain, and Portugal, and the countries contiguous to Africa; whence in all those parts there were more natural than legitimate children, and more such were openly promoted and preferred in the grant of ecclesiastical titles[h]." In Spain, Asturia, Gallicia, and elsewhere, Presbyters and others in Holy Orders married publicly[i]. In Italy fines were imposed by successive Councils[j]; that of Bergamo, A. 1311,

[g] The Council of Palencia, A. 1322, c. 7, fin., excommunicated individuals, and laid an interdict on any community who should do so. Nic. de Clamengis says that "in most parishes they would not tolerate a Priest who had not a concubine, so persuaded were they of the universal incontinency, and that even this precaution sufficed not." (*De Præsul. Simoniacis*, Opp., p. 165.) In the next century the Frisons with difficulty allowed of any other, on the same ground. Æneas Sylvius, A. 1440. (*Cosmogr.*, ii. 35.)

[h] *Theod. a Niem. Nemus Unionis, Tract.* vi. 35.

[i] *Alv. Pelag. de planctu eccles.*, ii. 27. "With a marriage-feast, as if lawful wives. Sometimes with a public instrument, promising not to part with them, especially noble ladies, and endowing them with the goods of the Church."

[j] *Ravenn.*, A. 1317, rubr. 4; 10 libræ for having or permitting sus-

imposed twice as large a fine on a Prelate as on an ordinary Clerk [k]. The Council of Presburg, A. 1309, imposed on *concubinarii publici* the forfeiture of one-fourth of the income of the benefice, avowedly as being more effective than excommunication [l]. The Council of Mayence, A. 1300, imputes its revival to the avarice of some who counted gain to be godliness [m]. Bishops were said not to presume to rebuke as being themselves tainted [n]. The Emperor Charles IV. threatened to sequestrate the revenues of those who gave occasion to this scandal, but was checked by Innocent VI., as interfering with the freedom of the Church [o].

The complaints of previous centuries heightened in the fifteenth. In the beginning of the century it was

against the clerical order, induced me to come here. It is much to be feared that, unless they mend, the laity will, as they publicly declare, like the Hussites, burst upon the whole clergy. A deformation of this sort gives great boldness to the Bohemians, and greatly colours their errors, because they inveigh chiefly against the foulness of the clergy. Wherefore, even if a General Council had not been instituted here, it would have been necessary to form a Provincial Council—for reforming the clergy; since it is, in truth, to be feared, that unless that clergy correct itself, even if the heresy of Bohemia should be extinguished, another should be aroused [q]." The Council of Paris, A. 1429, states, that "for the crime of concubinage, whereby many ecclesiastics and religious are infected, the Church of God and the whole clergy are held in derision, abomination, and reproach among all nations; and that most abominable wickedness has so prevailed in the Church of God, that simple Christians do not now believe that fornication is mortal sin [r]." The fine on concubines was forbidden [s], but practised [t], probably in the hope that

[q] *Epist. Julian. ad Eug.* iv. *in Fasc. rer. fug. et expet.*, Lond., p. 56. [r] c. 23.

[s] By *Conc. Paris.*, A. 1429, c. 23; *Conc. Dertus.*, A. 1429, c. 2. The Council of Basle prohibited it, "under pain of eternal malediction, and a fine of the double of such receipt; required prelates to remove the persons, if need be, by aid of the secular arm, and not to permit the sons so born to remain with their father." (*Sess.* 20, *Decr.* 1.)

"A penalty of ten florins for not dismissing concubines or *focariæ*, or other women suspected of incontinency," was imposed by a Synod of Breslau between 1447 and 1458. (*Hartzheim Conc. Germ.*, v. 445.) "Complaints were made of this by *Fel. Hammerlin*, *Dionys. Carth.*

the mulct might deter at least the poorer clergy. Those, who so offended, boasted of it[u]; the laity were sometimes scandalised, sometimes copied it[v]. It is a grave and pious Abbot, no mere declaimer against the vices of his times, who says of the clergy, "By the exceeding badness of their lives, they slay miserably the sheep of Christ—'Pro libris sibi liberos comparant, pro studio concubinas amant.'—Let not then the Priests wonder that the laity despise them, since themselves despise the commands of Christ. I fear vehemently that shortly graver things will arise against the clergy[x]." Popes would ordinarily be selected from the better clergy; but, besides that the century closed with the thirty years of Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII.,

he is accounted by all to be holy and honest[a]." "The priesthood was held so low, and daily lower, that many were ashamed to become Clerks, or allow their people to become so[a]." One only token there was, that God had not forsaken His Church, that while the world was full of satires on these excesses[b], earnest men in every portion of it complained of it[c]. "In no century," it is said, "were there so many decisions of Synods and Bishops against *concubinarii* as the fifteenth[d];" or so many complaints of their uselessness. Stringent measures in Italy produced, it is said, still worse evils and a more degraded clergy[e].

[a] *Lavacr. Consc.*, c. 6. "Why is it that the rest of mankind, of whatever condition, hate us? Certes, we cannot say, that the children of this world persecute us, as children of light—for we are not children of light, but of darkness. No other ground occurs to us, except that we are transgressors of the law." Ib. [a] Ib., c. 7.

[b] Gieseler quotes several. The contemporary Epigram on Innocent VIII. was but too forcible; the more so, for its allusion to his title, as Pope, the "father."

[c] Gieseler refers to the following well-known names: St. Laurence Justinian, Patriarch of Venice (*de complanctu Xt. Perf.*, Opp., ii. 6); Tostatus, Bishop of Avila (*c. cleric. concub.*, Opp. xxv. 58); St. Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence (*Summa Conf. P.* iii. *de cler. præl. Ep.*, c. 10–16); Dionys. Carthus. (*de vita et regim. Præsul.*, art. 18, 27 sqq. 39, *de vita et regim. Archid.*, art. 19 sqq., *de vita Canon.*, art. 12, *de vita Curat.*); Rod. Sancius, Bishop of Zamora and Referendary of Paul II. (*Spec. vit. hum.*, ii. 19); the *Lavacrum Conscientiæ* (c. 4, 13, 15, 17); Baptista Mantuan., General of the Carmelites (*Alfonsus*, l. iii., *de calamit. temp.*, l. iii.); Joh. Trithemius (*Instit. vit. sacerdot.*, espec. c. 2); and others.

[d] Gieseler, referring to the documents in *Theiner, die Einführung d. erzwungenen Ehelosigkeit u. ihre folgen*, &c., b. 2, Abth. 2, p. 642, sqq. *Carové, völlst. Samml. d. Cölibatgesetze für d. Kath. Weltgeistl. mit Anm.*, p. 342, sqq.

[e] J. F. Picus, Lord of Mirandula, *Orat. ad Leonem P. M. et Conc. Lat. de reform. mor.*, A. 1517, in Brown's *Fasc.*, p. 413.

These scandals had become so intolerable at the time of the Reformation, that it is not wonderful that there should be a mighty reaction. The Church had, indeed, struggled against the abuses. The Council of Basle had, in its twentieth Session, ordained that "any cleric, of whatsoever state, condition, religion, dignity, even Papal and otherwise eminent, who shall after due notice . . . be a public concubinary, shall in the space of three weeks be, *ipso facto*, suspended, and deprived of the fruits of his benefice; if he dismiss not his concubine, or take her back when dismissed, he shall be deprived of all his benefices." A public concubinary is defined to be, "he who retains a woman suspected of concubinage and defamed, who, when ad-

his own previous history takes away its weight[s]), the well-known Canonist Panormitanus (himself an Abbot and afterwards Archbishop) discusses the ques-

[s] He had said, however, earnestly, as Æneas Sylvius, "Perhaps it would be no worse, that very many [*quam plures*] should be married, since many might be saved in a married priesthood, who are damned in a sterile Presbyterate." (*Hist. Conc. Bas.*, l. ii. p. 86.) As Cardinal, he anticipated that another Pope [perhaps himself] might give dispensations. (*Ep.* cccvii.) See also, in Gieseler, extracts from the so-called Reformation Sigismunds, "an important voice from that time," and the so-called "Reformation Friederichs III.;" *Fel. Hammerlin* (*de lib. Eccl.*); *Alain Chartier*, Secretary of King Charles VI. and VII., who says, "The avaricious disorders of Priests have detached Bohemia from the Church of Rome. Why say I, Bohemia? nay almost all Christendom. For the people of the Church have by their faults so debased themselves and their office, that they are despised by all in the Church, great or small, and hearts are estranged from the obedience of holy Church by the dissolutcness of her ministers. For, as was said, they have left espousals, but they have taken instead lawless, vague, and dissolute luxuries. What has the law against the marriage of Priests effected, but to turn lawful generation into adultery, and honest co-habitation with one wife into multiplication of scandalous luxury?" Card. Joh. Ant. in S. Georgio said, that "this command gives occasion of ensnaring many souls, and therefore he believes that as the Church brought in this precept of continence, it will at some time revoke it. And such revocation will be conformable to the Apostle's saying, 'as to virgins, I have no commandment, but I give counsel.'" Editor of *Aur. et singul. lectura super* iv. *decretalium ad tit.* vi., "Qui clerici vel voventes matrimonium contrahere possunt." The desirableness of revoking the prohibition was advocated by Jo. le Maire, Historiographer of Louis XII., *de Schism. et Conc. Eccl. univ. diff.*, P. i. c. 2, P. iii. c. 15; Polyd. Verg., *de rer. invent.*, v. 4. Adolf, Bishop of Merseburg, Prince of Anhalt, "The immoral unmarried life of the clergy was before his eyes. Wherefore he and many thought it good, that marriage should be again allowed them in Council, since otherwise this evil was not to be hindered." (*In Georg. Fürst zu Anhalt, Vorr. zu d. Pred. v. d. falsch. proph.*) Bapt. Mant., the Carmelite, dwells on men's censures against the prohibition, *Fasti*, l. i., *de S. Hilario*, Opp., t. ii. f. 252.

tion, and decides in favour of the removal of the prohibition: "Can the Church at this day enact, that a Clerk may contract marriage, as do the Greeks? I believe that it can; and I not only believe that the Church has the power of enacting this, but I believe that it would be a healthful statute for the good and salvation of souls, that those who wish to use continence and to merit the more, should be left to their will; but those who will not to contain, may marry: for experience teacheth, that quite the contrary effect follows from that law of continence, since at this time they do not live continently nor are pure, but are stained by unlawful intercourse, with gravest sin to themselves, whereas with their own wife it would

means regard marriage as a matter of course, upon the part either of the clergy or people. The Article claims for the clergy the same freedom as the people; but it sets before both, as the one ground, which "shall serve better to godliness?" Not earthly happiness, nor "Isaac's pure blessings and a verdant home," not the union of souls in holy love, nor anything else on this earth, is proposed as its measure; but this only, "Is marriage likely or not to benefit the immortal soul?" The question implies, that what is, in itself, free, is not free to each. For no one can be free to do that which, to *him*, does not, in his judgment, serve best to godliness. The Marriage Service goes further, by speaking of marriage as, with other motives, a remedy for those who "have not the gift of continency." For those who have any gift of God clearly are responsible for it. Much more the clergy, by how much their office brings them nearer to God. When God bestows the gift, the argument for such celibacy is founded on the very words of our Saviour Himself, where He commends a single life, and concludes with the significant comment, "He that is able to receive this saying, let him receive it." Contrasting the Law of Moses, in which divorce was allowed on account of the hardness of men's hearts, with the law of grace and divine strength which He came to announce and to inspire, He rests the benediction of the single life on those additional graces whereby under the new covenant men are able, in a higher degree than under any previous dispensation, to fulfil the will of God.

The next argument is found in the counsels of St. Paul[k], with regard to virginity. Plainly, the "present necessity" is not, as has been sometimes supposed, the condition of persecution in which the early Corinthian converts were presumed to live. For in neither Epistle is there any evidence of such persecution. On the contrary, the Christians in that community were living on perfect terms of friendship with the heathen around them. The "present necessity," therefore, must apply to the world under Christianity, and so the spirit of St. Paul's counsels must apply to all time.

Again, in that primeval religion handed down by early tradition among the heathen, which, in its fore-

a certain appreciation of the highest ideal of life, so even in Gnosticism we see a caricature and distortion of the same. It is Gnosticism, which St. Paul describes and condemns where he speaks of the early heretics forbidding to marry; they erred in maintaining the body to be absolutely sinful, and the work of an inferior demiurge. The truth in this system was a certain aspiration after the higher life. The Church at once met the error, and the truth; the error, by asserting the sanctity and quasi-sacramental character of marriage, the truth lurking in Gnosticism, which was the sanctity of nature and the immaterialism and spirituality of the human mind, by elevating virginity[1].

As the Jewish Priests, during their ministration, were obliged to abstain from their wives, when they commemorated God's mercies to the Jewish people, propitiated Him for their sins, and lived in habitual communion with Him; so the Christian Priest, who is not bound to a mere monthly attendance at the temple, but to a constant service, would seem to have a more continual call to the continent life.

Upon whom or how many in any given period, God is or would be pleased to bestow the gift of continence; whom, among men, He has created for the virgin life, lies in the secrets of the Divine Predestination. It is for individuals to learn for themselves, whereto God has called them, and neither to hold back from His calling, nor thrust themselves, uncalled, into a vocation for which God has not fitted them. Individuals, doubt-

[1] See Möhler's Criticism on the Memorial of the Freiburgh Professors, in the *Vermischte Schriften*, p. 177.

less, may obtain, as well as lose, a vocation for themselves; but they must obtain it before they venture upon it. It is a problem for the Church, to provide, as far as in her lies, that none should miss that vocation, whom God, in His eternal counsels, has created for it, and, on the other hand, to secure that those, who have not that calling, should, as St. Paphnutius advised at the Council of Nice, not have a burden laid upon them which they are unable to bear, God not having designed them for it. The Church has tried different ways. The Greek Church has one stereotyped plan of gathering into monasteries those who have the calling to the celibate life, and, while requiring of her Priests that they should marry before the priesthood,

ties of continence when the trial-time comes. "They are pure as angels," said a French Bishop of his seminarists. The Church of England has, as yet, left this, as well as other matters relating to the soul, purely to the consciences of individuals. It leans to the celibate; it does not enjoin it. But as men's souls are stirred more and more by the Spirit of God, it must be, that celibacy, among men too, and especially among those whom God calls to the priesthood, will become a recognised religious vocation. Wise will be her course, if she follows the Apostle's advice, and, without limiting the freedom which he admitted, directs her sons, as the more excellent way, to that which he chose.

After what has been said, it is unnecessary in a treatise of this kind to enlarge upon the increased influence, the capacity for labour, the disentanglement from the world, the economy of living, the increased facilities for missionary and hospital work of a celibate priesthood. At the price of much individual suffering, a mighty engine for the conversion of the world is thus recognised in clerical celibacy, as the fruit of self-devotion upon the call of God. And the spirit of St. Paul, reflected in the Apostolic Constitutions and Canons of the fourth century, finds its highest interpretation in such self-dedication, where the matured will, after having tested its powers, yields itself a living sacrifice to duty and to God.

ARTICLE

De Excommunic

Qui per publicam Ecclesiæ de
Ecclesiæ præcisus est, et exc
fidelium multitudine (donec
conciliatus fuerit arbitrio Ju
est tanquam ethnicus et publi

"*Of excommunicate Persons, h*

"That person which by op
Church is rightly cut off from
and excommunicated, ought to
multitude of the faithful, as an
until he be openly reconciled by
into the Church by a judge tha
unto."

To cut the offending member
power which natural law grants
society. The expulsion of unwil-

and in the measure that highest spiritual privileges are attached to incorporation and visible communion, therewith the importance of the power for such expulsion must be conceived of. The highest notion, of course, is where the consequences of the deprivation of visible communion tell upon the soul in the next world, even to the endangering of salvation. Under the Jewish law the cutting off from the people, though sometimes meaning death by the judgment of God, or by the hand of man [a], was latterly understood of excommunication, which was either *niddui*, excommunication for a month; or *cherem*, excommunication accompanied with imprecations, the intensest form of which was *shammatta*. In the earliest times we find that the Christian Church wielded this terrible power, and made it the basis of all its discipline. With a graduated scale of Church censures, she reserved excommunication as the ultimate term of her jurisdiction. St. Irenæus mentions the final excommunication of Cerdon. Origen bears witness to the practice of the expulsion from communion of offenders, especially the incontinent. Tertullian, in view of his Montanist ideas, gives us much insight into the discipline of the Church during his time. The Canons of the Church not only lay down rules for the exercise of this discipline, but actually enforce many of their own enactments under penalty of anathema [b].

[a] 1 Kings xiv. 10; Exod. xxxi. 14, 15; Levit. xvii. 4.

[b] Vide Appendix to Sermon upon Evangelical Repentance by the Bishop of St. Andrew's. Oxf., 1841.

When the kingdoms of the earth became Christian, and had in certain cases to be dealt with by the Church in a corporate capacity, the theory of excommunication and interdict received further development.

It is unnecessary here to dwell at length upon the public discipline of the ancient Church, how the penitents were divided into weepers, hearers, kneelers, and co-standers; how crimes were visited by long terms of penance in proportion to the magnitude of the offence; how some were only reconciled in the article of death, and how some crimes were thought too great for restitution to communion in this life, though the mercy of God was hoped for them in the next. The Article

The teaching and practice of the Church on the subject of excommunication have been thus formularized in the Latin Church, and as the theory of the Church of England is intimately connected with it, some of the details are here given, with a view to clearness. An excommunication is an ecclesiastical censure, by which a Christian man is separated from the communion of the Church. It depends on the power of binding and loosing granted to her prelates by Christ, "If he neglect to hear the Church [d]:" observe also the practice of the Apostle handing the offender over "to Satan," on which St. Austin says, "Because the devil is without the Church as Christ is in the Church, so he is given over to the devil who is removed from the communion of the Church." Excommunication is nearly the same as anathema, but the latter is the more solemn form of the process, nay, in general, is more awful.

Excommunication is divided into the greater and the lesser. The greater is that ecclesiastical censure, whereby the Christian is separated from the communion of the faithful absolutely and simply; i.e. is deprived of all common blessings, such as the Sacraments of the Church, both as to administration and reception, as well as common prayer and society. The minor is that whereby the Christian is deprived only of the passive reception of Sacraments. When excommunication is spoken of indefinitely it means the greater. Again, excommunication is divided into 1. *ex-*

[d] St. Matt. xviii. 17.

communicatio latæ sententiæ, and 2. *excommunicatio sententiæ ferendæ*. The first is that which is incurred *ipso facto*, either by the perpetration of the crime, or by the sentence of the judge; *excommunicatio sententiæ ferendæ*, is that, which though held as established in law, yet is not at once and *ipso facto* incurred before the sentence of the judge.

Thirdly, excommunication is divided into that which is carried out by the law, and that which is carried out by the individual. Excommunication *quæ a jure fertur*, is when anything is prohibited by law, canons, constitution, or decree, under penalty of such, or of anathema. That *quæ a judice fertur*, is that which for any crime is inflicted by the judge. Hence, censure

of Christ. The dead cannot be, for the binding is, "whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth," not under the earth. Next, gravity and contumacity are necessary, and not even against the contumacious, unless they have been summarily warned.

The judgment of God rests on the truth, which neither deceiveth, nor is deceived; but the judgment of the Church sometimes rests on opinion, which can easily err and cause to err, whence it sometimes happens that he who is bound by God is loosed by the Church, and he who is free with God is bound by the sentence of the Church. *Clave errante* is a recognised ground of appeal.

The first effect of excommunication is to deprive the excommunicate person of the active and passive use of the Sacraments.

2. Of the common suffrages of the Church, and the spiritual blessings which flow from the public offices of the clergy and the sacrifices of the faithful.

3. Of the right to assist at the divine offices. He may, however, hear sermons, recite prayers in private.

4. Of Ecclesiastical sepulture.

5. Of Political communion with the faithful.

6. In some countries he cannot be judge, advocate, or witness.

7. All his ecclesiastical acts are invalid, except the election of the Pope, no excommunication of a cardinal invalidating that.

8. It renders him incapable of receiving ecclesiastical revenues.

the defence of the excommun

11. It renders him suspec
purge himself within the yea

12. It renders excommuni
the minor is concerned) all
with the excommunicate perso

The effect of the minor ex
fold :—

1. He may not partake in an

2. If without necessity he a
he sins at least venially.

3. He cannot be elected to
fice.

Absolution, in the case of e
may be granted not only by Bis
ing jurisdiction, but, so far as
concerned, by parish Priests an

From excommunication *ab*
special sentence none

may be so far absolved as to be capable of Christian burial, and of the suffrages of the Church.

Absolution may be given absolutely, or on condition, or *ad cautelam*, or *cum reincidentiâ;* that is, he may fall again under it if he neglect to do what he has promised, or for a special purpose as a judicial examination. No one can be absolved from the greater unless he swear to obey the commands of the Church, and not to sin in the kind again; also, he must make restitution so far as he can. Yet if he neglect to fulfil this, he does not relapse into the excommunicate state, but should be again excommunicated. Yet he who absolves without an oath, absolves illicitly though validly. Absolution extorted from fear is invalid.

Nothing will place before the student the awful character of excommunication in so striking a light, as the form of service which has for many centuries, with various modifications, been used in the Western Church, since the ninth or tenth century. Before that, no special form was prescribed. Martene gives some very terrible forms, but what is here exhibited is sufficiently striking and awful.

When the anathema, i.e. solemn excommunication for grievous faults, is to be inflicted, the Bishop, dressed in amice, stole, and cope, of violet colour, with a simple mitre, assisted by twelve surpliced Priests, having all burning candles in their hands, shall sit on a faldstool before the altar, or in some other public place as shall please him; he shall there pronounce and emit the anathema in this manner:—"Inasmuch as *N.*, by the persuasion of the devil, laying aside

press Christ's p
lest he perish, by the pastoral
the tremendous judgment we
account before the Chief Pastor
according to that which th
threatens, saying: 'If thou sh
wicked his sin, his blood will
We have warned him canonic
and even four times, in order
wickedness, inviting him to e
and penance, and correcting hi
tion. But he, alas! despising
flated with the spirit of pride,
faction to the Church which he
information is supplied by the
and His Apostles how we ought
such transgressors. For the L
or thy foot offend thee, cut it
thee;' and the Apostle says, 'P
from among you;' and again,
called a brother is a fornicato
idolater

His Apostles, let us cut off this putrid and incurable member, which will not take medicine, by the sword of excommunication from the body of the Church, lest the remaining members of the body become tainted as by poison, by such pestilent disease. Therefore, since he despises our admonitions and frequent exhortations, and when thrice summoned according to our Lord's precept, he has neglected to repent and amend, since he has neither bethought himself of his fault, nor confessed it, nor sent an embassage to make any excuse, nor hath asked pardon; but, the devil hardening his heart, has persevered in the wickedness on which he hath entered, according to the words of the Apostle, 'according to his hardness of heart and impenitence, hath treasured up for himself wrath against the day of wrath.' Therefore, him, with all his accomplices and supporters, by the judgment of God Almighty, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and of blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and of all saints, also by the authority of binding and loosing in heaven and in earth bestowed upon our mediocrity by God, we separate from the reception of the precious Body and Blood of our Lord, and from the society of all Christians, and we exclude him from the thresholds of holy mother Church in heaven and earth, and we decree him excommunicate, and anathematized, and damned with the devil and his angels, and all the lost in eternal fire, till he recover himself from the snares of the devil, and return to amendment and penance, and satisfy the Church of God which he hath injured; delivering him to Satan for the destruc-

... a letter must be sent t
even to the neighbouring Bis
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excommunication may be take

It will be seen how in the
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vision made for his restoratio
mates the Article. The exc
be taken of the whole mult
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markable fact in the history
Church, it is her great tenderne
imitating her Divine Head. S
ing prodigal, and on the slig
pentance restores him to he
again and again ...

ARTICLE XXXIV.

De Traditionibus Ecclesiasticis.

Traditiones atque cæremonias easdem non omnino necessarium est esse ubique, aut prorsus consimiles. Nam ut variæ semper fuerunt, et mutari possunt, pro regionum, temporum, et morum diversitate, modo nihil contra verbum Dei instituatur.

Traditiones, et cæremonias ecclesiasticas, quæ cum verbo Dei non pugnant, et sunt authoritate publica institutæ, atque probatæ, quisquis privato consilio volens, et data opera, publice violaverit, is, ut qui peccat in publicum ordinem Ecclesiæ, quique lædit authoritatem Magistratus, et qui infirmorum fratrum conscientias vulnerat, publice, ut cæteri timeant, arguendus est.

Quælibet Ecclesia particularis, sive nationalis, authoritatem habet instituendi, mutandi, aut abrogandi cæremonias, aut ritus ecclesiasticos, humana tantum authoritate institutos, modo omnia ad ædificationem fiant.

"*Of the Traditions of the Church.*

"It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one, or utterly like; for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversities of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's Word. Whosoever, through his private judgment, willingly and purposely doth openly break the traditions and

ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the Word of God, and be ordained and approved of common authority, ought to be rebuked openly, (that others may fear to do the like,) as he that offendeth against the common order of the Church, and hurteth the authority of the magistrate, and woundeth the consciences of weak brethren.

"Every particular and national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church, ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying."

The word 'tradition,' in the sense in which the Article means it to be taken, is synonymous with the term *con-*

and greater part of it, with the intention of really binding itself thereby. Hence customs of devotion, (such as bowing at the *Gloria*,) are not of obligation. In this sort of custom prescription is a necessary element.

2. Custom *secundum legem* is, that we suppose a pre-existent law, and either reduce it to practice, or, if it be doubtful, interpret it. It is important as confirming and strengthening existent law, and securing its being enforced.

Custom *contra legem* is that, by which the written law has either never been in use, or if in use has been abrogated by a contrary use. It cannot prevail against divine or natural right or law. No custom can abrogate the necessity of fasting, or the laws against perjury. But every positive human law, whether civil or canonical, may be abrogated by a contrary custom, so that that custom be 1. reasonable, and 2. possess sufficient legitimate prescription.

1. The first condition implies that it shall not oppose divine or natural law, nor be reprobated by the Canon Law, that it gives no occasion or licence to sin, and that it has no injurious effect on the public welfare. No custom can be pleaded that infringes on these.

2. Legitimate prescription must be a long time. In the Canon Law ten years is prescription; in the English Common Law sixty years; in the Scots Law forty years; in America twenty years are necessary. In civil matters a tacit abrogation on the part of the civil authority is implied by the toleration of the

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not be surprised to find many marked peculiarities in the services and ceremonies of the different Churches throughout the world. The tone of the services of the Greek Church is markedly different from that of those of the Westerns; and even among the Westerns, in the more limited field of variation, strong points of individuality have been conserved. The prevalence of direct prayer to our Lord in the Mozarabic rite preserves the recollection of the struggle with Arianism in Spain. The Ectenæ in the Milanese rite are no doubtful indications of the originally Oriental source of the Ambrosian Office. The great predominance of vernacular hymns in the Church of Germany testifies to an endeavour to supply that national demand for affective hymnody, which Luther, at the time of the Reformation, used with such mighty effect; as in such instances as are recorded in history, where a whole congregation, celebrating the Services after the fashion of their fathers, would suddenly burst forth into one of the German hymns of the new learning. As a matter of fact, we know from history that this was the case, and the following quotation from the Ecclesiastical History of Sozomen exhibits to us the fact, that the diversities of ceremonies mentioned in the Article have been from the beginning.

"Different customs prevail in many Churches where the same doctrines are received. There are, for instance, many cities in Syria which possess but one Bishop between them; whereas, in other nations, a Bishop is appointed even over a village, as I have my-



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number of Deacons is unl
sung once annually, nan
Festival of the Passover;
among the Romans to sw
singing this hymn. In
taught by the Bishop, no
At Alexandria the Bisho
and it is said that this cust
since the days of Arius, w
broached a new doctrine.
vails at Alexandria, which
heard of elsewhere, and this
read, the Bishop does not
Archdeacon alone reads the
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only by the Presbyters; wh
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as far as Phœnicia. In some Churches the people fast three alternate weeks, during the space of six or seven weeks, whereas in others they fast continuously during the three weeks immediately preceding the festival. Some people, as the Montanists, only fast two weeks. Assemblies are not held in all Churches on the same day, or upon the same occasions. The people of Constantinople and of several other cities assemble together on the Sabbath as well as on the next day, which custom is never observed at Rome or at Alexandria. There are several cities and villages in Egypt where, contrary to the usages established elsewhere, the people meet together on Sabbath evenings, and, although they have dined previously, partake of the mysteries. The same prayers and Psalms are not recited, nor the same passages read on the same occasions, in all Churches [b]."

The tendency of modern Church legislation is in the direction of uniformity of worship. In our own Church the necessities of the time make the maintenance of the Prayer-book in its integrity a sacred duty. In Scotland an influential school have done what they could to get rid of the national Office for the Celebration of the Holy Communion. In France the Ultramontane party have toiled sedulously to expel the local and Diocesan Breviaries, and to substitute the Roman Office. There is something to be said for this substitution: perhaps there is more to be said for the retention of the older forms. As union is strength, so, no

[b] Sozomen, "Ecclesiastical History," bk. vii. c. 19.

doubt, a vast wide-spread uniformity of rite will tend to stereotype and strengthen those ideas, of which that rite is the type and watchword. On the other hand, much beauty, the evidence of much thought, must be lost by the abandonment of any service which has gained a real hold upon a people. It is unwise in any sense to weaken the antiquarian and sentimental value of any rite, and, above all, there may be deep theological reasons which, having suggested and maintained the peculiar practice, it were wrong to controvert. Perhaps, to sum up, it may be said that by uniformity of rite, strength and concentrated energy are gained at the expense of that passive power which unbroken tradition ever gives, and of that sense of large-

a civil sanction to customs, or "the common order of the Church," then, to infringe that, to which he had lent this sanction, was to lower his authority also. The wont of giving such civil sanction to the laws of the Church dates back to the earliest times of the converted Empire. To "confirm" the decrees of a Council became a technical term. The fathers of the second General Council wrote to Theodosius; "We pray your Clemency, that you will confirm with the writing of your Piety the decree of the Council, so that, as you honoured the Church by the letters which convoked it, you may set your seal to the conclusion which we have decreed[c]." The fathers of the Council of Ephesus applied to the younger Theodosius, that "the things set forth by the Œcumenical and holy Council for the confirmation of godliness against Nestorius and his impious doctrine, may have their own strength, being corroborated by the assent and approbation of your Piety[d]." The Emperor Marcian speaks of "confirming the holy Synod" [of Chalcedon] "by the decree of our Clemency[e];" and the fathers, in their Synodical Epistle to St. Leo, speak of the Emperor's having "confirmed by a law the judgment of your Piety." Justinian directed the Patriarch Mennas to send to the Metropolitans of his diocese "what had been decreed by the Chief Priests and *confirmed* by the Empire." Constantine Pogonatus

[c] *Epist. Syn. Conc. Const. ad Theodos.*
[d] *Conc. Eph.*, Art. 5. [e] *Conc. Chalc.*, Art. 6.



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King Clovis, that "if wl
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the Council of Constantino
of the Body and Blood of
third Council of Toledo, A.D
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soul should make humble
heaven," were decreed in th
A.D. 636, at the exhortation
well as the sixth Council, A.
by him. Ecclesiastical regu
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the sixteenth and seventeen

Church, A.D. 813. "The Bishops sought the remedies of the evil in Holy Scripture and the Canons." The Councils of Mayence and Arles expressly submitted them to Charlemagne for revision; the Councils of Chalons and Tours state, that "the Canons made in each Synod were collated before the Emperor in the General Council at Aix, when they were confirmed, so as to have the force of law. Justinian, in his *Novellæ Constitutiones*, and Charlemagne, in his *Capitulare*, embodied the ancient Canons, to which they gave the force of law. Lothaire carried on the work of his grandfather, and formed a *Capitulare*, "to be kept as a law by all the lieges of the Holy Church of God, or of ourselves in the kingdom of Italy." Pope Leo IV. bound himself to observe "those capitula and precepts of Lothaire and his predecessors in all things[g]." A minute collation of our Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical and civil laws, shews that the kings gave a civil authority to what had been previously enacted by the Bishops. It is, then, in accordance with ancient precedent, that the Article gives a secondary but real place to the sanction of the Civil Magistrate. The civil power usurped, cajoled, bribed, corrupted, oppressed; but the principle, implied by the Article, that the Civil Magistrate could give a civil sanction to the law of the Church, which, if given, was to be respected, was consistent with ancient precedents.

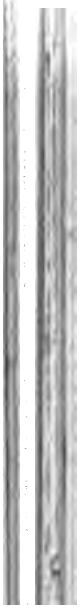
"Every particular or national Church hath autho-

[g] *C. de Capitulis*, dist. 10, ap. Gratian. The above is epitomised from Dr. Pusey on the Royal Supremacy, §§ ii., xiv., xv., xvii.

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satisfy rigorous criticism is

of the Articles. The Eastern Empire broadly embraced the Eastern Church. The Armenian religion was, above all, the symbol of a passionate nationality; while in the West the great Latin Church ruled the wills and consciences of Roman and Teuton. Then came the Reformation. The old habits of order, the ignorance of the political possibility of toleration, suggested to the reforming Kings of Germany and their Theologians no other basis but nationalism as the foundation of the new Creeds. Having no Episcopate, and regarding all Christians as equally Priests, they had no unity except in the person of the Sovereign. The Sovereign was their Bishop. And, therefore, we are struck in the history of the continental Reformation with the amount of the personal influence of the individual potentates, the difficulties which the preachers had in dealing with the civil authority, and generally with a confusion of ideas as to the relative spheres of Church and State. We have seen Lutheranism and Calvinism, if not chemically combined, at least blended into a new Evangelical Church at the will of an energetic Sovereign.

In England this tendency prevailed, but under different conditions. It was held in check by the existence of a spiritual body, which Henry was obliged to own, and through which his successors hoped to rule. The fact that she was an island tended greatly to insularity of thought. In one sense the Reformation was only the final act in a long struggle between the *Regale* and *Pontificale*, which, with dif-



...ections of the nation
of King John, which, but
have died away, as all pa
and aggravated by the
Roman Curia [h], and the co
upon Italians, who knew
people, nor the face of thei

[h] The complaints in Matthew Par
of a Pope that England was "an ine
notorious. The reputed venality of
Honorius III. (M. Paris, A. 1226). J
Council of Vienne a commutation wa
approved), whereby the Pope and Car
of the clerical revenues of all Europe,
payments to legates and nuncios.
c. 15.

[i] The *Epistola Universitatis regni A*
IV., at the Council of Lyons, says tha
[to the Pope], the Italians (of whom
are now enriched by churches belong
gious, who are called their Rectors,"
souls, neither knowing their sheep, n
pitality nor almsgiving (

at Rome, and their places were filled up with other Italians, before the patrons knew of the vacancy[k]. Sagacious minds foresaw impending evil[l]. The English kings made political capital of these grievances in the way of strengthening the realm, by exciting indignation against all foreign interference, and especially all foreign taxation. Henry VIII. dexterously seized the weak points of the Roman Court, professing to relieve his people from the evils involved by appeals to Rome, and the money-demands of its Court. He would take off the yoke of Rome, in order to make way for, and make fast his own.

There could be no doubt that in his resistance to the Roman Court, Henry VIII. at first carried with him the great mass of the English people, and it was only when men began to see whither events were irre-

[k] Ibid.

[l] The above letters to the Pope end with heavy prognostications. The Abbots close theirs, "Let your Holiness provide that the kingdom and priesthood be no wise divided; for if the English Church should be brought to ruin, a division being made between the kingdom and priesthood, both people and priest may groan, and the ruin of many follow without delay." "The peers, clergy, and people" end theirs, "unless the things aforesaid be speedily corrected by you, let your Holiness hold for certain, that it may with reason be feared, that such peril will impend both on the Roman Church and on the king, as cannot easily be remedied." (See further in *Eirenicon*, pp. 80—82.)

Durandus, Bishop of Mende, quoted "the vulgar proverb," "who wishes all loses all." "The Roman Church claims to itself all things (*universa*), whence it is to be feared that it will lose all things; for as Solomon says, 'Whoso squeezeth vehemently, draweth blood.' An example of which is in the Church of the Greeks, which is said, on this ground, to have departed from the obedience of the Roman Church." (*de modo cel. gen. Conc.*, p. ii. tit. 7.)

sistibly dragging them, that the Pilgrimage of Grace, and the Lincolnshire and Exeter Rebellions, exhibited the continued existence of the opposite spirit. When the breach with Rome was effected, on no other ground could the Reformation be justified and defended but on that of nationalism; and putting out of the question the Celtic populations of Ireland and Wales, the unity of race that generally prevailed through the island, and the separation by the sea from all other kingdoms save that of Scotland, enabled the experiment to be tried under the most favourable circumstances.

It now remains to be seen how far the principle of nationalism may be extended into things of religion. Obviously, nationalism must in no ways affect the

antiquity shews us that from the beginning, even in regard to the administration of the very Sacraments themselves, there were variations of form: and if such was the case with regard to these, how much more is this permissible in such inferior matters as discipline, ceremonies, and whatever else tends to edification! Variations have taken place both with times and places, and the same Churches have not always observed the same rites.

To any one who studies the structure of the present service-books of the Church of England, it will be evident that, while this principle was admitted in some cases to a degree with which we do not sympathize, there was a wise adherence to what had gone before. The old forms in spirit remained the same, except where they were actually and advisedly altered, and thus the identification of the Church before and after the Reformation, where it was possible, was vigorously maintained.

This principle is fully admitted by the great founder, under Christ, of the present English Church. St. Gregory the Great, writing to St. Augustine of Canterbury, who had requested information how he was to act, that wise and sagacious Pontiff writes:—"But it pleases me, that whatsoever you have found either in the Church of Rome, or of those of Gaul, or in any Church whatever, which would please Almighty God better, you would carefully select; and into the Church of England, which at present is new in the faith, introduce by your instruction and care the most exalted

things you have been able to collect from many Churches; for we must love not things for places, but places for things. Out of each Church, therefore, choose those things which are religious, pious, and right; and these, collected, as it were, in a bundle, deposit in the minds of the English for their practice." In this he followed the well-known example of St. Ambrose, as quoted by St. Augustine in the 54th Letter to Januarius. Indeed, the diverse forms for the administration of the ordinances of religion, such as Absolution and Extreme Unction, as illustrated in the Greek and Latin Churches, and, again, in the rites of the Eastern heretics, as well as those forms which were in use in the Middle Ages in Western Europe

ARTICLE XXXV.

De Homiliis.

Tomus secundus Homiliarum, quarum singulos titulos huic articulo subjunximus, continet piam et salutarem doctrinam, et his temporibus necessariam, non minus quam prior tomus Homiliarum, quæ editæ sunt tempore Edwardi Sexti: Itaque eas in Ecclesiis per ministros diligenter, et clare, ut a populo intelligi possint, recitandas esse judicavimus.

De Nominibus Homiliarum.

[These are given in English, as under.]

"*Of Homilies.*

"The second book of Homilies, the several titles whereof we have joined under this Article, doth contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for these times, as doth the former book of Homilies, which were set forth in the time of Edward the Sixth; and therefore we judge them to be read in churches by the ministers, diligently and distinctly, that they may be understanded of the people.

"*Of the Names of the Homilies.*

"1. Of the right use of the Church.
"2. Against peril of Idolatry.
"3. Of repairing and keeping clean of Churches.

"8. Of the Place and Time
Prayer.

"9. That Common Prayers a
Sacraments ought to be minister
in a Known Tongue.

"10. Of the Reverent Estima
tion of God's Word.

"11. Of Alms-doing.

"12. Of the Nativity of Christ.

From the very beginning
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portant department of the te
It mainly took the form of
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Alexandrian S-h-l

teries of the Faith, delivered in preparation for the Easter Baptism and Communion of the neophytes of Jerusalem; and St. Chrysostom, he of the golden mouth, is emphatically the great sermon-writer of the East. Eusebius preserves his great Sermon at the consecration of the Basilica at Tyre. Other Fathers also in the East, as SS. Gregory of Nyssa and Nazianzen, and Basil, have come down to us in the exhortations they gave to their people; while in the West, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and St. Leo, are the most prominent of the many sermon-writers, who, like St. Zeno of Verona, St. Maximus of Turin, St. Gaudentius of Brescia, fulfilled one solemn function of the episcopal office in preaching the Word of God. St. Cyril of Alexandria is said by Gennadius, of Marseilles, who flourished about sixty years after St. Cyril's death, to have composed very many Homilies, which "are committed to memory by the Bishops of Greece." There seems to be an allusion to something of this in St. Cyril himself, in a very curious exegesis of the words, "When thou comest into thy neighbour's vineyard[a]," &c., although of his popular sermons but few have reached us, except the glowing one on the Mystic Supper, and those on St. Luke, preserved in a translation by the Syriac Christians, and lately brought to England and translated. He says on the passage above mentioned: "I think it not unfit for us to apply this to some others, who, plucking as it were some spiritual food the words of the teachers

[a] Deut. xxiii. 24.

in the Churches, which are, may be, somewhat suddenly uttered, are not content with this, but going on to speak beyond bounds, and, as it were, putting them into a vessel, commit them to their tablets, with love of learning indeed, but wronging, in respect of understanding, the brethren, in that what is treated off-hand they commit to writing, as if it had been finished with much care. And yet the Law, my good friends, would I say to them, clearly commanded to put nothing into a vessel[b]."

Many of these teachings lived on beyond the fall of the Empire into the Dark Ages, and we cannot doubt that the exposition of Scripture in Homilies must have been one of the methods whereby the fresh nations of

These public appeals, however, were not the only sermons of the period. In the Cistercian Order, following St. Bernard, there rose up a school of mystical interpretation of the Word of God, which spoke to the consciences of men, and drew them to faith and obedience by the tenderest persuasion. That School passed away, and, in opposition to the Manichæan and Socialistic errors of the twelfth century, the powers of preaching were again called forth by the formation of the Dominican Order; and the eternal wisdom of God, sanctifying the intellect of man, was invoked to the crushing of error and inculcation of religious truth. From this Order emerged the celebrated Thauler, who had so profound an effect on Luther, and many others of distinction. This School, debased by the scandals of the century before the Reformation, recovered itself. For in 1612 Bernard Gualtier published an anonymous volume by some members of the Dominican Order, called *Sermones Discipuli.* Perhaps the *Discipulus* was John Herolt, whose *Sermones Quadragesimales* were printed at Maintz in the same year. Neither were there wanting in the Seraphic order, which inculcated a more mystical and effective theology, preachers of renown. St. Anthony, of Padua, is renowned for the wonderful effect of his simple exhortations in making many conversions to God; shewing that it is unction and not learning only, the blessing of God and not the ability of the preacher only, that touches the soul of man. In the fifteenth century a well-known collection was made with the quaint title of *Dormi Securè*, and was published. The full

title was "Sermons for Sundays, with Explanations of the Gospels throughout the Year, sufficiently notable and useful for all Priests, Pastors, and Chaplains: which under another name is now called, Sleep securely, or sleep without care, because they can without much study be incorporated and preached to the people."

There exist many copies in MS. of the Sermons of John Felton, Vicar of St. Mary Magdalene, in Oxford. A selection from the names of the authors of the sermons that were printed soon after the discovery of the art of printing, will shew what was deemed best worth preserving of the mediæval sermons:—There

as to the quantity of the Sermons, the neglect of preaching by the clergy of all ranks was a never-failing subject of complaint and invective in Scotland for many years before the Reformation. "The Prelates certainly are dumb dogs," says the reforming monk of Cambuskenneth, in 1536, "unable to bark in the cloister. They associate with kings and princes in cities and palaces, and therefore their voice is not heard in the cloister. Wherefore, in the day of anger and vengeance, the blood of their brethren will be demanded at their hands[c]." Dunbar and Lindsay, as satirists and Protestants; Quentin Kennedy, and Ninian Wingate, as Catholics and apologists, alike bear witness to this fact. We know from the satirists of the day, into what a state the public preaching had been degraded. Probably the parochial clergy in England had very much abandoned the practice, and left it to the ignorant and superstitious friars. In any reform that must take place, fresh life must be infused into this department of Christian theology. As a matter of fact, the Reformers, before the breach with Rome, began to use it for their own purposes. It was not to be supposed that the Church of England should neglect this weapon in doing the work of those times.

The First Book of the Homilies was the first book pertaining either to the public worship or teaching of the Church, which was put forth in the reign of

[c] Fr. B. Richardin, *Exeg. le Can. D. Augustini*, fol. 188, 189. See *Statuta Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, tom. ii. p. 288.

Edward VI. Henry died in January, 1547, and the Homilies bear the date of July 31 of the same year. Taverner had had Cranmer's sanction for the publishing of his "Postils," and the Bishops in the Convocation of 1542 had agreed "to make certain Homilies for stay of such errors as were then by ignorant preachers sparkled among the people." The project took none effect then, but five years afterwards the present First Book was printed by Grafton, with a preface running in the King's name, in which all the clergy, having cure of souls, were commanded to read it through to their parishioners again and again, until the King's pleasure should be further known. Nine editions were printed before the end of 1547, but they

not incorporated till near the end of the reign of James I.

It was intended in King Edward's time to put forth fresh Homilies, as may be seen from the rubric in the second Prayer-book, but death prevented him. Bonner published some Homilies in Queen Mary's reign, and on the accession of Elizabeth the Second Book of the Homilies, in which the number of subjects treated was twenty, while the number of treatises were thirty-eight, was published. In 1573, on the occasion of the two rebellions, the Homily against Rebellion gave six parts more. Much time passed before the book was ready, but at length, with the Thirty-nine Articles, it was submitted to the famous convocation of 1562, and received its approbation; yet Convocation had not much to do with them, as it only began to sit on the 12th of January, and the Articles involving the Homilies were passed on the 5th of February. The Queen took much longer time for her consideration of them. They did not come out of her hands untouched. The exact date of publication is not ascertained. They were, however, in the hands of the public Aug. 1, 1563. Six editions were speedily published. At first, it was necessary to enjoin the clergy to read the Homilies distinctly, on account of their dislike of the innovations contained in them. In process of time the aspect of things changed, Puritanism became the enemy to be dreaded, and the Homilies were enjoined to be read by way of stifling the prophesyings; James, for the same reason, sought assistance from the Homilies, as

is noticed in his directions concerning preachers, dated Aug. 4, 1622. Then came forth the first folio edition of 1623, in which the two books are for the first time united into one volume. Some changes were made in the style, but the only modification of teaching is contained in two brief marginal notes, referring to the conduct of St. Ambrose and the Emperor Theodosius.

The authorship of the Homilies in every case has not yet been ascertained. Some, however, have been distinctly traced to their writers. In the First Book:—

1. "The Exhortation to the Reading of Holy Scripture," is probably by Archbishop Cranmer.

2. "Of the Misery of Man" is certainly by Arch-

peril of Idolatry," "Of repairing and keeping clean of Churches," are probably from the same hand. The second is based upon a document under the title of "A Treatise of Master Nicholas Ridley," purporting to be an address to King Edward, but really presented to the Queen by Archbishop Parker. It again is derived from a work of Bullinger.

4. "Of Fasting," probably by Bishop Grindal.

5. "Against Gluttony and Drunkenness," partly from a Homily by Bishop Pilkington, and partly an adaptation of a discourse of Peter Martyr.

6. "Against Excess of Apparel," perhaps by Bishop Pilkington.

7, 8, 9. "Concerning Prayer," "Of the Place and Time of Prayer," "Of Common Prayer and Sacraments," probably Jewel.

10. "Of certain Passages in Scripture," a few sentences taken from a tract of Erasmus.

11. "Of Alms-deeds," the author is greatly indebted to St. Cyprian.

12. "Of the Nativity," unknown.

13. "Of the Passion for Good Friday," from Taverner's Postils.

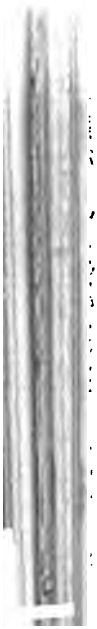
14. "The Second Sermon of the Passion," unknown.

15. "Of the Resurrection," from Taverner.

16. "Of the Sacrament for Whit-Sunday," ascribed to Jewel.

17. "For Rogation-week," unknown.

18. "Of Matrimony," half from Veit Dietrick, of Nuremberg, and half from St. Chrysostom.



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be retained as witnesses of a past phase in the history of the Church, and as warnings against the return of such a state of things as brought on the Reformation.

The last clause in the Article, "we judge them to be read in the Church diligently and distinctly," was to meet the case of the lower clergy who disliked the changed tone of thought in the Homilies, or many of their statements, some of whom neglected to read the Homilies at all, while others read them in such a way that they were utterly unintelligible to the people, as has been mentioned in discussing the body of this Article.

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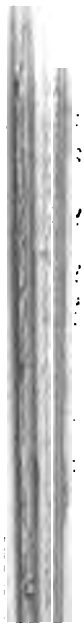
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Our Lord is the immediate founder of the hierarchy, because it was He who ordained the Apostles Bishops, when He said to them: "As My Father sent Me, so send I you; receive the Holy Ghost; go ye into all the world and make disciples of every creature; whatsoever ye shall bind or loose on earth shall be bound or loosed in heaven." These words denote a power without limit, its measure is the wants of humanity, its field of action the world. At the beginning of the Church there was one general Episcopate.

Of this oneness His promise to St. Peter had been the type and earnest. In St. Cyprian's well-known words, "The Lord saith unto Peter, 'I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound also in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' To him again, after His resurrection, He says, 'Feed My sheep.' Upon him, being one, He builds His Church; and though He gives to all the Apostles an equal power, and says, 'As My Father sent Me, even so send I you; receive ye the Holy Ghost, whose soever sins ye remit, they shall be remitted to him, and whose soever sins ye retain, they shall be retained,' yet, in order to manifest unity,



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they would even specially deliver them to those, to whom they committed the Churches themselves also. For very perfect and blameless in all things, they wished them to be, whom they left also as their successors, delivering to them their own office of instruction, since, if these acted well, great good would result; if they fell, extremest calamity [b]."

It is probable that the Apostles chose cities and towns for their chief ministry, since these were the heart of each country, whence the Gospel would reach most easily to the smaller places. It is in cities, where we hear of Apostles abiding; they are cities which, in the main, they address. The metropolis of the country or province became naturally the ecclesiastical metropolis, the see of the first Bishop of that province. Such grouping of sees occurs even in the Apostolic Canons. "The Bishops of each nation must own him who is first among them, and regard him as head, and do nothing extraordinary without his mind [c]." The Council of Antioch, making the terms of this more definite, speaks of it as "the Canon of our fathers," and assign the reason. "The Bishops in each Eparchy must own the Bishop presiding in the metropolis, and submit to his thought for the whole Eparchy, because in the metropolis all from all sides who have matters meet together; whence it seemed good that he should be first in honour, and that the other Bishops [d]," &c. The Council of Laodicea requires that "the Bishops should be set in their ecclesiastical rule by the judg-

[b] iii. 3, 1. [c] Can. xxxiii. [d] Can. ix.

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without them is neither Baptism, Eucharist, or absolution; that they are in God's stead, and on this ground claim authority in things divine; that it is by tradition, of which they are the living links, that the Canon of Scripture is ascertained; that it is by them that controversies of faith are to be determined; that it is by them that we are in the Church, that the Church itself subsists and can with certainty be recognised [k]."

This Article has not to do with the present Ordinal as given in the Prayer-book, but with one in temporary use from the second year of Edward VI. till the time of Charles II.; it is, however, of primary importance, that its sufficiency and canonicity should be asserted and proved, inasmuch as the strength of every chain being exactly the strength of the weakest link and no more, if orders conferred under this rite had been invalid, no supplementing in after times would have availed. Unless the ordainers and consecrators were true Bishops themselves, they could not by a more perfect rite confer grace which they had not, or in any way improve the ecclesiastical position of the community to which they belonged. On the other hand, if the rite was sufficient, they were free to make that rite more edifying, orderly, and impressive; and this is just what the later revision has done.

The act of King Edward ordained that such form and manner of making and consecrating of Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and other ministers of the Church shall be used, (observe the recog-

[k] Klee, *Hist. Dog.*, i. 116.

nition of the minor orders,) as by six prelates and six other men of this realm, learned in God's law, by the King's Majesty appointed, shall be devised for that purpose. The act passed the Lords:—Tonstal, Bishop of Durham; Oglethorp, of Carlisle; Heath, of Worcester, Thirlby, of Westminster; and Day, of Chichester, protesting.

From the earliest periods of the Church, ordination has been invested with the greatest solemnity. It has been entrusted to the Bishops only, ordination by Presbyters being a thing unknown, or if known, only known to be declared absolutely null, till Luther and Calvin.

In the Apostolic Constitutions[1], when a Priest is

elect who comes for consecration is to kneel before the Altar, the Gospels are held over his head, he receives imposition of hands from the consecrating Bishop." There is likewise a solemn form of prayer used on this occasion. A Priest at his ordination, kneels likewise before the Altar, the Bishop laying his right hand on his head, and completing the ordination with solemn prayers. When a Deacon is made, he kneels before the Altar on only one knee, and then the Bishop, laying his hand upon his head, pronounces a prayer proper for those of that order. All these respective orders are signed with the sign of the cross, the names and degrees of the persons published, and lastly, they are saluted by the Bishop and the rest of the Clergy [m].

In the Greek Church, the Archbishop, standing before the Holy Table, prays for the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the elect, and holding his hands upon his head, reads the instrument of his election; then after some prayers, opening the Gospels, he lays them on the head of the person consecrated, the other Bishops also touching him. He likewise makes three crosses on his head, and pronounces the prayers of consecration. Then one of the Bishops assisting reads part of the Litany, the Archbishop with his hand on the head of the elect makes another prayer, takes the Gospels from off his head, invests him with the omophorion. Then he is saluted by all and conducted to the Bishop's seat [n].

[m] Pseudo-Dion., i. 363, 364, ed. 1634; vide Morinus, *De Sac. Ord.*, ii. p. 51.

[n] Vide Euchologion, p. 160, ed. Venice, 1854.

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placed upon him. The ordination prayers mention his offering sacrifice for the sins of the people, but not "for the quick and the dead." No rule is given for the delivery of the vessels.

The Schoolmen lay great stress on this delivery, and even go so far as to doubt the validity of ordination conferred without it; on the other hand, they have always granted the canonical character of the Eastern orders.

The modern teaching of the Church of Rome on the essentials of ordination is to be found in the *Homo Apostolicus* of St. Alfonso[p]. In his 17th Tractate on the Sacrament of Order, No. 15, we find the following words:—"The second question is whether the matter and forms of the Sacraments, especially of order, are all specifically determined by Jesus Christ. The first opinion denies this, along with St. Bonaventura, Bellarmine, Valentini, Morinus, Lugo, Salmeron, &c. Their only reason is, that otherwise there could not be different matter and forms in the Greek and Latin Churches, especially in the case of the Sacrament of Order, seeing that in the Greek Church both the priesthood and the diaconate are conferred by the imposition of hands only; while in the Latin the handing over the instruments is required, according to the decree of Eugenius IV., as has been already mentioned. Whereupon they assert that as regards Baptism and the Eucharist our Lord ordained specifically both the matter and the form; but regarding the other Sacraments,

[p] Vol. vii. p. 466 sqq., ed. Turin, 1848.

He instituted them in kind only, leaving to the Church the power of determining them specifically, by giving them the words and things that should express the effect of the Sacrament. This opinion is probable, but there is a more probable opposed to it, which holds that the matter and form of all the Sacraments were specifically determined by our Lord; so Merbes, Habert, Juvenin, Tournely, Petrocor., Concina, and many others with St. Thomas, who cannot be denied to be of this opinion, when he says: 'For that the sanctification of man is in the hands of God Who sanctifieth him, it belongs not to man by his own judgment to assume the things whereby he is sanctified, for this must needs be determined by the institution of God. And

wished to instruct the Armenians in the rites of the Roman Church to which they wished to be united."

"The third question is, what is the matter of the Priesthood, whether only the imposition of hands, or the giving the instruments, and what is the form?

"There are three opinions: 1. that of Fagnani, Soto and a few others, who hold that the only matter is the tradition of the instruments which the Bishop gives the candidate, and the form 'Take thou authority of offering sacrifice,' &c., and by this matter and form is bestowed the power not only of sacrifice but absolution. The sole motive of this opinion is taken from the decree of Eugenius IV., where it is said, 'The order of Priesthood is given by presenting with a cup with wine, and a paten with bread.' But this opinion is commonly not received by the doctors. 2. The second is that of Bellarmine, Estius, Scotti, Layman, Salmeron, Coninc, Holzm., Vasquez, who maintain that in the ordering of Priests there is a double essential matter, so that by the tradition of the instruments power is given over the real Body of Christ, viz. that of sacrificing, with the words, 'Take authority,' &c., and by the imposition of hands power is given over the mystical body of Christ, viz. that of absolving, with the words, 'Take the Holy Ghost, whose sins thou remittest they are remitted.' 3. The third opinion, that of Martene, Becanus, Tournely, Juvenin, Petrocor., Concina, and others with St. Bonaventura, to which Benedict XIV. also agrees, holds that both powers are given to the Priest by the sacred imposition of hands, namely, when the Bishop ex-

tends his hands over the candidate with the Presbyters attending, as the Council of Trent says, 'that the ministers of extreme unction are Bishops, or Priests rightly ordained by them by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery.' This opinion is confirmed by the Council of Trent[a], 'that we are taught sufficiently in the Holy Scriptures what things are chiefly to be attended to in the ordination of Priests and Deacons, but that we have nothing else assigned as the matter of the Sacrament of Order than the imposition of hands: it must be said, that beside the imposition, nothing else in ordination is of essential necessity.' It is also proved by the Greek rite, whereby, as has been said, men are ordained solely by the laying on of hands, seeing that the validity of Sacraments depends essentially on the forms and matter instituted by Jesus Christ. To this must be added what Benedict XIV. with Martene mentions, 'that the giving of the instruments was not introduced into the Church before the eighth or ninth centuries'. . . . As to what the form according to this third opinion is, some say, 'Take thou authority,' but more probably Morinus and Tournely say it is the prayer which the Bishop says in the imposition aforesaid, and the words which he says at the end in the third laying on of hands, 'Receive the Holy Ghost,' are only declarative of the Spirit being already given. The third opinion is the more probable, but because the second is probable, at least extrinsically, that in practice is to be followed."

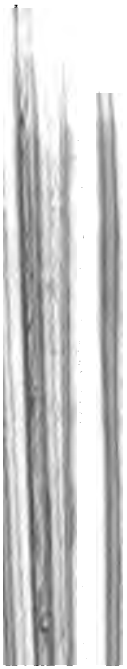
[a] Sess. 23, c. 2.

The question of the validity of Anglican Orders used to turn on three hinges, 1. Was Barlow, through whom alone the succession was supposed to come, himself consecrated? 2. Is there sufficient documentary evidence for the Consecration of Matthew Parker? 3. Were the form, matter, and intention sufficient to confer valid ordination?

As to the first, using the words of Dr. Lingard[t], "For ten years Barlow performed all the sacred duties and exercised all the civil rights of a consecrated Bishop. He took his seat in Parliament as Lord Bishop of St. David's. He was styled by Gardiner 'his brother of St. David's.' He ordained Priests: he was one of the officiating Bishops at the Consecration of Bulkley, [and likewise of Skip,] yet we are now called upon to believe that he was no Bishop, and consequently that nobody objected to his orders, though they were known to be illegal: or to his ordinations, though they were known to be irregular; nor to his performance of Episcopal Functions, though it was well known that each such function was a sacrilege!"

As to the second, 1. The Public Records shew that Parker was *elected* by the Dean of Canterbury and four canons on Sept. 6, 1559: on the 9th the Queen issued her Commission to the Bishops to consecrate, and punished them on their refusal. On Cecil consulting Parker, he replies that, in conformity with the statute 25 Henry VIII., the King must direct letters patent to an Archbishop or to four Bishops to confirm and

[t] Catholic Magazine, 1834.



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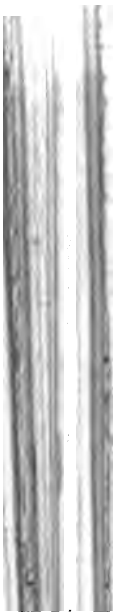
Therefore, the study of
the question

Bishops was ordered to use the sacramental words. Of these four Bishops, two were consecrated by the old Pontifical, and two by the reformed ritual of Ed ward VI., and the three had their descent quite independent of Barlow.

As to the third point,—the form, matter, and inten tion—it is said that the form of Anglican Orders is imperfect, inasmuch as the office of a Bishop was not specified when hands were laid on Matthew Parker. The four consecrating Bishops used the following words: — "Accipe, inquiunt, Spiritum Sanctum, et gratiam Dei, quæ jam per impositionem manuum in te est, excitare memento: non enim timoris sed virtutis, dilectionis et sobrietatis Spiritum dedit nobis Deus[r]."

It has been said that these do not determine the office, and would suit the case of a parish-clerk as well as a Bishop. To this it must be answered; 1. That the use of the words of St. Paul, in which he gives the charge to St. Timothy as Bishop of Ephesus, shews that it was in the minds of these consecrators to confer on the candidate the authority of a primitive Bishop. Next, that there were other prayers in the service which distinctly determined the meaning of the action; and 3rdly, that the reformed Bishops were in no worse case than their predecessors; for in none of the English Pontificals, except that of Exeter, (which never was used, there being no record of any Bishop of Exeter having taken the principal part in conse-

[r] Cardwell, "Doc. Annals," i. 278.



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distinction of the ordinations conferred in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., or allusions to the difference of their respective ordinals, left it to the judgment of Cardinal Pole to rehabilitate those whom he should judge worthy, to allow them to use the consecration they had received, and to consecrate those who were not yet consecrated. The passage in the original runs as follows :—"Necnon de personis quorumcunque Episcoporum vel Archiepiscoporum, qui Metropolitanam aut alias Cathedrales Ecclesias de manu laicorum etiam schismaticorum, et præsertim qui de Henrici Regis et Edouardi nati ejus receperunt, et earum regimini et administrationi se injecerunt, et earum fructus, reditus et proventus etiam longissimo tempore tanquam veri Archiepiscopi aut Episcopi, temere et de facto usurpando, etiam in hæresin ut præfertur inciderint, seu antea hæretici fuerint; postquam per te unitati sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ restituti exstiterint, tuque eos *re-habilitandos* esse censueris, si tibi alias digni et idonei videbuntur, iisdem metropolitanis et aliis Cathedralibus Ecclesiis denuo, necnon quibusvis aliis Cathedralibus etiam metropolitanis Ecclesiis per obitum vel privationem illorum præsulum, seu alias quovis modo pro tempore vacantibus, de personis idoneis pro quibus ipsa Maria regina juxta consuetudines ipsius regni tibi supplicaverit authoritate nostra providere, ipsasque personas iisdem Ecclesiis in Episcopos aut Archiepiscopos præficere: ac cum iis qui Ecclesias Cathedrales et Metropolitanas de manu laicorum etiam schismaticorum ut præfertur receperunt, quod iisdem seu aliis,

ad quas eas alias rite transferri contigerit, Cathedralibus etiam Metropolitanis Ecclesiis in Episcopos vel Archiepiscopos præesse, ipsasque Ecclesias in spiritualibus et temporalibus regere et gubernare, ac *munere consecrationis eis hactenus impenso uti*, vel si illud eis nondum impensum extiterit, ab Episcopis vel Archiepiscopis Catholicis per te nominandis suscipere libere et licite possint."

But this is not all. The Bull goes on to provide for the possible consecration of priests ordained irregularly, i.e. by the ritual of Edward VI., if such be advanced to the Episcopate:—"Necnon cum quibusvis per te ut præmittitur pro tempore absolutis et rehabilitatis, ut eorum erroribus et excessibus præteritis non

out of the controversy as to the origin of jurisdiction, whether directly from God or from the Pope. After some discussion, O'Hairt, Bishop of Achonry in Ireland, shewed that for these reasons it could not be maintained that jurisdiction was immediately from God. 1. That in the hierarchy there would be many heads, so that it would rather bring anarchy, and all would be upset. 2. That thereby the opinion of the heretics would be strengthened; for that in England the King calls himself Head of the Church, and creates Bishops who are consecrated by three Bishops, and say that they are true Bishops, who are from God; but we deny that, because they are not *adsciti* by the Roman Pontiff, and we say so rightly; *and by this reason alone, and by no other, do we convince them,* for they themselves shew that they have been called, elected, consecrated, granted mission. This sentiment pleased the Synod.

It is plain from this that the Anglican Bishops, ordained by the Pontifical of the reign of King Edward VI., were acknowledged to have every element of the Episcopal character, except recognition by the Pope.

Given, therefore, the historical truths of the facts of Parker's consecration as attested by a regular notary—admitting the doctrine laid down by St. Alfonso—taking into consideration, in the way of corroboration, what passed upon the subject at the Council of Trent, it is *absolutely certain* that Anglican Orders are valid and regular, unless the Pope's recognition be essential. And that that recognition is not essential, is proved

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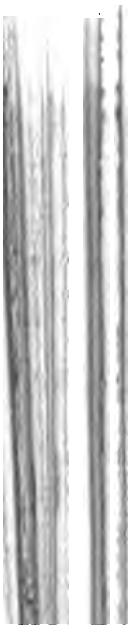
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than that, it was distinctly an inheritance of pre-Reformation times. Benefices and Bishoprics had been held by non-ordained persons, even by children [c].

Since the reign of Queen Elizabeth the Episcopal succession of the English Church has received two infusions of what may be termed foreign blood. The first of these is the introduction of that of the Irish succession by the part which Primate Hampton took in the consecration of Bishop Morton, and by the translation of Bishop Murray, of Kilfenora, to Llandaff.

The usually received fact that the present Irish succession is purely Irish, based on the supposition that all the Bishops save two conformed at the Reformation, is now denied. It is quite true that several Irish Bishops were present at the Council of Trent; Thomas O'Herlihy, Bishop of Ross; Donatus Mac Congail,

[c] Among the documents preserved in the archives of Magdalen College, Oxford, we find a Bull of Pope Nicholas mediating in a dispute between the Founder and the Bishop of Salisbury, touching the benefice of Bryghtwell, in which a layman, a medical man, by nation reputed to be a Greek, held the living for ten years, alleging a papal exemption from holy orders. He had had a curate (*procurator*), but that curate was now dead, and the Rector could not be found. Upon this the Bishop of Winchester, the patron, presented William Darsset. The Bishop of Salisbury refused to institute him, and he appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury. He then received institution, whereon the Bishop proceeds to sequestrate the living, intending, as was supposed, to interfere with the Bishop of Winton's patronage, but alleging that it still belonged to Thomas French. The Bull enjoins the Commissioners to put an end to all debate between the parties, and if the recited premises are true, to put William Darsset in full and peaceable possession of the benefice, invoking, if necessary, the interference of the secular arm.—(Communicated by the Rev. H. R. Bramley, Fellow of St. Mary Magdalen College.)



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and meet for electing, consecrating, and installing, to be done, as in like cases is used. The same orders are given in Latin in the case of James McCaghwell, Bishop of Cashel [d].

But even if it be said that all these facts are only probabilities, it is certain that the Irish Orders are valid through Hugh Curwen. He was consecrated by Bonner and other recognised Bishops, according to the Roman Ritual in Queen Mary's reign; and even if his consecrations were performed without assistant Bishops (of which, however, all the proof lies the other way), all that can be said is that they were irregular, not invalid.

The other intervention of a foreign Bishop in the line of English Bishops was by Marc Antonio de Dominis. This prelate, who was Archbishop of Spalato, in Dalmatia, for a time conformed to the Anglican Church in the reign of James I., and was by him made Dean of Windsor. During his residence in England he assisted at the consecrations of Bishops Felton and Monteigne.

The only remaining point to be noticed is the argument against the validity of the Anglican Orders from the want of intention. Bishop Barlow's opinions on Holy Orders were very loose, but still we must believe that he intended *bonâ fide* to do and to say, what he actually did and said in the matter of the consecration. He was required to perpetuate the succession of English Bishops. Oglethorp refused to have anything to do

[d] See Lee's Letter to Abp. of Dublin, 4to., 1866, p. 36.

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to shew that it has been duly and orderly done according to the laws of the realm, and partly to provide for the more surety thereof. Bonner had alleged that the Ordinal, repealed along with the Prayer-book in the time of Queen Mary, had not been separately named in the revising Statute, 1 Eliz. c. 2. Both the Act and the Article are passed *ex majori cautela*, a valid consecration being the corner-stone of the whole ecclesiastical edifice.



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Romanus pontifex ***nullam ha***
Angliæ.

Leges regni possunt Christia
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the chief government of all the estates of this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all causes doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be, subject to any foreign jurisdiction.

"Where we attribute to the King's Majesty the chief government, by which titles we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended, we give not to our Princes the ministering either of God's Word, or of the Sacraments, the which thing the injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth our Queen do most plainly testify; but that only prerogative which we see to have been given always to all godly Princes in Holy Scripture by God Himself; that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn or evil-doers.

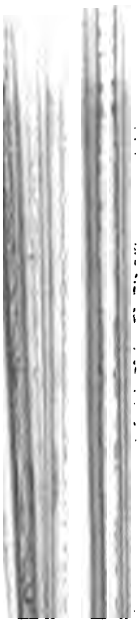
"The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England.

"The laws of the realm may punish Christian men with death for heinous and grievous offences.

"It is lawful for Christian men, at the commandment of the Magistrate, to wear weapons, and serve in the wars."

The subject of Article XXXVII. is the *Civil* Magistrates. First the supremacy of the Queen's Majesty in the realm over all estates, in all causes, is asserted. Next the Fact and the Propriety of its subjection to any foreign jurisdiction is denied.

After this comes an explanation that the term 'chief



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Even under the Pagan Emperors the Church possessed land, though without legal sanction. In the third century we have evidence of the possession of a see-house at Antioch, which Paul of Samosata wished to retain after he had been deposed[a]. After the confiscations of Diocletian, Constantine ordered the land to be restored, and by an edict of 321 he permitted the Church to receive bequests (*bona*) in real property. There is no contemporary record for any great grant of land by Constantine, the forged donation being first known to be in existence A.D. 860. By the time of St. Gregory the Church was very rich, and it is reasonable to believe that, the Emperor having opened the door to such bequests, wealth flowed in from the devotions of the faithful. Indeed, Valentinian had to make a law checking the scandalous practices connected with such gifts. If Anastasius is to be trusted, Constantine bestowed upon the Basilicas which he founded in Rome alone, property to the value of 235,527 gold crowns, of which 60,000 went to the income of the Pope. The aggregate weight of the ornaments given to the Sanctuary was 1,880 lbs. of gold, 19,513 of silver, and 7,420 of bronze.

It is needless to add, that the discipline as well as the doctrine of the Church was a purely internal matter, in which the State had no interest nor control. Beyond a growing suspicion of the existence of Christianity as a dangerous organization, and occasional fanatical outbursts, chiefly in the provinces, ending

[a] Theodoret, H. E., ii. 8; Euseb., H. E., l. vii. c. 30.



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to meet the requirements of the new faith; Church and State here worked in harmonious alliance, and the world profited by the alliance. However, beside this mutual influence, the two systems, developing homogeneous codes of law, lived on in indifferent harmony with each other, ages after ages. The conflict between the Canon and the Civil laws in various countries was only the outcome of this state of things. In most countries the Civil law has generally superseded the other, as material interests have become greater and greater.

It was the same in Politics. The *ecclesia docens*, 'the clergy,' the Hierarchy, to a certain degree maintained their authoritative position, after that the State became Christian. However great was the predominance of the Civil power, it generally recognised certain functions proper to the Spirituality. It found that within its influence there was another power which it could not touch—the domain of conscience. In proportion as dogmatic questions assumed a concrete form, that domain of conscience extended itself to many mixed questions, and collisions between the temporal and spiritual powers became the inevitable result.

The history of the world from the fourth century is a record of this collision. Sometimes fought out on the plain principle, as in the fight of the Investitures, sometimes disguised under the appearance of factions, as the Guelphs and Ghibellines, the Bianchi and the Neri[b]; the question profoundly agitated the

[b] Dante's *Inferno*, xxxii. 6.



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[e] Hallam's "Middle Ages," v
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The loss of England at the Reformation led, if not to the institution of Concordats, at least to their frequent employment. The relation between the Civil and Ecclesiastical power now became a matter of treaty in each State. Sovereigns made the best terms they could, and wrung from the occasional weakness of the Papacy what it could not help granting. Still the *Curia Romana* has never bated its theoretical rights, and while the State has managed in most cases to insist on the right of the *placitum regium* or *Exequatur*, the power of preventing bulls being published within its limits, and the institution of an appeal from the abuse of spiritual power in the Civil Courts, both that *Exequatur* and that *appellatio ab abusu* have been condemned in the *Encyclica* of Dec. 8, 1864.

The principles of Nationalism had developed themselves two hundred years before the Reformation. England, not being a part of the Empire, had always maintained its insular character; and, in spite of the moral effect of the death of St. Thomas of Canterbury, had always struggled to carry on the traditions of the Constitutions of Clarendon. In France the influence of the lawyers who, in opposition to the Councils, had developed the royal power by the inculcation of the Code of Justinian, had tended, in union with the gradual absorption of the great fiefs, to give increased power to the Crown, while the traditions of the Holy Roman Empire, especially in their Ghibelline embodiment, had ever been in the direction of thwarting and opposing the theologico-political theories of the



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a Benedictine house was appealed from the judgment of the Diocesan to the Conservator (the Bishop who presided in the Church before the establishment of the two Archbishoprics), but finally decided by the King in Parliament by the advice of the clergy then present in 1391. In 1401, any one, thinking himself unjustly excommunicated, might appeal from the Bishop to the Conservator, from the Conservator to the Provincial Council, where such questions should be determined so long as the schism should last. To this ordinance the clergy consented during the schism, like the rest of the King's lieges. In 1417, the question whether Martin V. was to be acknowledged was debated, not in a Provincial Council of the clergy, but in a General Council of the three estates of the realm. In 1425, the bishops are authorized to search for heretics and Lollards by Parliament. In 1427, Parliament framed a measure for expediting the procedure in the secular cases in the Ecclesiastical Courts, and next year made rules about the treatment of leprosy by the clergy. This boldness in dealing with ecclesiastical matters startled the Papal Court, and contentions arose which were only silenced by the confusions that sprung from the murder of James I.

But there was another aspect of the question beside the relations between the Regale and the Pontificale. That between sovereign and people was long undetermined. Against the traditions of the Empire in the Middle Ages, a host of communities, and sects, such as the Fraticelli, Beguards, &c., had sprung up, ad-

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a father went mad and offered to kill his children, they might tie his hands, and take his weapon from him; in like manner, if princes would murder the children of God, it was no disobedience to restrain them from their evil purpose.

The first proposition of the Article, therefore, is an assertion of the chief power of the Queen's Majesty. That power claims such privileges as, inherited from pre-Christian times, had been derived into the Holy Roman Empire, which was emphatically the State, the successor of that Great Polity which ruled the earth at the time of the coming of our Lord. England had never been in a strict sense part of the Great Empire. The Romans had abandoned it; the northern Barbarians had invaded it: the Saxons, after growing from a heptarchy into one kingdom, had maintained independent relation with the Empire; the kingdom of England imitated the style and title of the emperors of New Rome; the Bretwalda became the Basileus; there was a great affectation of Grecian etiquettes; but the whole theory of England was that it was a free and independent kingdom. This is the first proposition of the Article. But next to that, after certain explanations of the autonomic claim, there is a certain jurisdiction to be renounced.

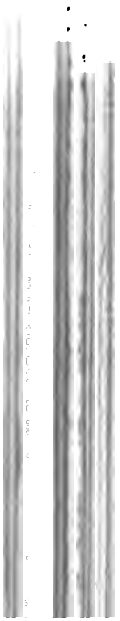
The jurisdiction here renounced was that jurisdiction which, supported and strengthened by the false Decretals, and formulized by individual theologians after the Council of Trent, had for nine hundred years been exercised over the Church of England. From the



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Even Hildebrand could not, as Innocent III., have enforced justice, in opposition to the vast machinery of the Roman Curia, and its *vis inertiæ*. Appeals were made by the English Clergy on every occasion against their Bishop. They were seldom prosecuted; the result was the mere prostration of the Episcopal and Metropolitan authority. The loudest complaints of the venality of Rome are of the thirteenth century, and some even in the twelfth. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the power of gold was still said to tell in the decision of appeals, and, rightly or wrongly, an abiding sense of the venality of the Roman Curia possessed the mind of Europe. Long before the Reformation there was a strong anti-Italian party in the English Church, and it must never be forgotten that the actual breach was consummated by the Catholic Convocation of the Church, by Gardiner, and Bonner, and Warham.

Yet that the mediæval Papacy, with all its faults, had an office in God's kingdom and in the history of the world, cannot be denied. As the strongest concrete form of the Episcopate, it was the preserver and dispenser of moral and religious tradition. It knit together in visible unity the various races which, as powers of this world, succeeded to the Roman Empire, and enlarged it. The Apostle of England had been sent and guided by that great Pontiff, who was so marvellously raised up at a time very critical for the history of Christianity, St. Gregory the Great. St. Augustine of Canterbury impressed on England an

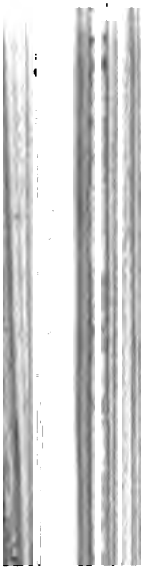


One was their faith; one worship. And this unity throughout Western Chr the common Father. The ther of Christians, was, in refuge of the oppressed. before which kings, or a bled; which could rebuke force upon the throne, with its own. Even the forged consequences, as any fraud by Rome, nor with its cogn against lawless civil power century the Papal authority name of Popes, who themse only as a proverb of reproa cline of the Papal power be sustained its loftiest claims. authority at the zenith

the infringement of some chief terms; he received Scotland as a fief of the see of Rome; he had given a king to Hungary; and had conferred the Empire on Albert. Millions (it was said "almost all Christendom") flowed to Rome to visit the shrines of St. Peter and St. Paul, at the Jubilee which he instituted; his Bull, *Clericis laicos*, exempted all Clergy everywhere from any tax, under excommunication; and in the *Unam sanctam* affirmed the absolute subjection of the civil to the Papal power. Yet he died, accused of every imaginable or unimaginable sin, (many charges *primâ facie* are utterly incredible,) required by the French king to defend himself before a General Council. His successor, Clement V., had to account it a gain that the French king abandoned the prosecution[f]. The Council of Vienne declared Boniface "a Catholic and undoubted Pope[g]." But the fact that a Pope should, at the instigation not of the French king only, but of the States General, with all the ecclesiastics present, and above seven hundred acts of adhesion[h], be tried, after death, before a General Council, for atheism, simony, incontinence, witchcraft, heresy, and unnamable crimes[i], must have had a very profound effect upon the mind of Europe. The Bull, May 1311,

[f] He speaks of it as an inspiration of God, *Diploma in Rayn. Ann.* A. 1311, n. 30. Villani says that Clement V. promised to Philip on the Blessed Sacrament, as one condition of his elevation to the Papacy, to "destroy and annul the memory of Pope Boniface." *Hist. Fior.* viii. 80. He is followed by St. Antoninus.

[g] *Anton.* 3. p. tit. 21, c. 3. [h] Bulæus, *Hist. Univ. Par.*, iv. p. 46 sqq. [i] Ib., p. 41 sqq.



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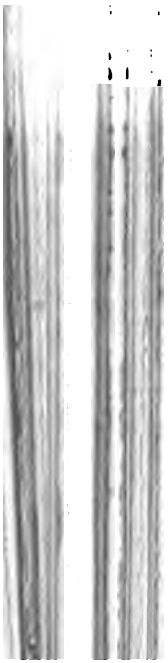


teaching of St. Cyprian, should give way under the pressure and increasing strength of the adolescent nationalities of Europe, was a mighty blow to the Western Church. Humanly speaking, but for that, the Reformation would never have taken the shape it did. Men's minds for nearly a generation had got into the way of doubting who was Pope, and therefore the element of certainty, which had been so attractive a notion in dependence upon it, was lost; lost not only to that generation, but with more perilous results to those who succeeded.

The fifteenth century accustomed men's minds to a lowering of the Papal authority. It opened with the deprivation of the two rival Popes by the Council of Pisa [m], and the broken oath of the new Pope, Alexander V., to continue the Council, until it should have effected a reform [n]. On his decease, the Cardinals un-

[m] Sess. xv. Jur. 5. The "Sententia definitiva et privativa," runs: "The holy and universal Synod, representing the universal Church, and to whom the cognizance and decision of this cause is known to appertain, pronounces, decrees, defines, and declares, that Angelus Corario and Peter di Luna, both and each were notorious schismatics, and notorious heretics, departing from the faith, entangled with the notorious and enormous crimes of perjury and violation of vow, &c., that they are, *ipso facto*, rejected and deprived by God and the sacred canons; but that, nevertheless, the Council deprives both and each, inhibiting them and each of them from presuming to act as Supreme Pontiff."

[n] The oath was, that "if any of us shall be elected supreme Roman Pontiff, he will continue the present Council, and not dissolve it, nor allow it to be dissolved, as far as in him lies, until by him, with consent of this same Council, there be made a due, reasonable, and sufficient reformation of the universal Church and its condition, both in its head and members." Sess. xvi. Jur. 10.



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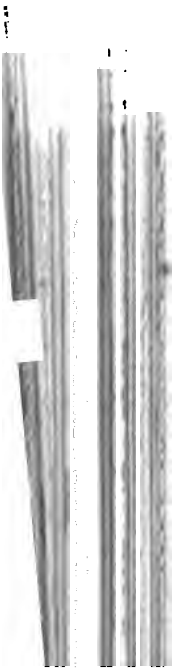
decisions were made by a Council of undisputed Catholicity at the time, must have left a lasting impression. France continued to receive even the decrees of its later sessions during its conflict with Eugenius IV. (as that of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin), as decrees of a General Council. Martin V., indeed, declared in a Constitution (A.D. 1418) any appeal from the Apostolic see invalid; Pius II. prohibited them[u]. Yet they continued, when occasion arose[v]. Exactions disgraced even the energetic reign of Martin V. Even when the Turks threatened Hungary, the attempts to promote a Crusade were regarded as mere occasions for succouring the Papal revenues. The purpose of Julius II. to lead a Crusade in person, which once would have roused all the religious enthusiasm of Europe, attracted a mere mob[x]. Had those who elected the three last Popes of the century, Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII., Alexander VI., had for their object to degrade the Papacy as a spiritual power, they would have chosen well. Yet the claims made for Papal authority never ran higher. Flatterers, on public occasions too, called the Pope "another God upon earth[y]." Alexander VI. dispensed with what was, or was accounted hitherto to be, Divine

[u] In a Bull, Jan. 23, 1460, "Execrabilis."

[v] On the part of the Elector, at Nürnberg, A.D. 1460; of the Emperor Sigismund, also 1460; by Charles VII. of France, also in 1460.

[x] *Vita Pii II.*, (in *Murat. Scriptt. Rer. Ital.*, iii. ii., p. 990); Card. Papiens., *Comm.*, l. i.

[y] Mentioned by Gerson, *Opp.* ii. 424, "Tu denique alter Deus in terris," said to Julius II. *in Lat. Conc.*, Sess. iv. Dec. 10, 1512.



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[a] *Raph. Volat. comm. urb. Anthro*
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distinction of jurisdictions. All matters, spiritual as well as temporal, were determined in the Sheriff's tourn, the county court where the Bishop and Earl sat together[d]. As the legislative synods were mixed assemblies, so the executive was mixed also. The bishoprics being conterminous with the kingdoms, the archdeaconries with the counties, there was the closest connection between the civil and ecclesiastical laws: "The shyregemot shall be kept twice a year, and oftener if need require, whenever the Bishop and the Alderman of the shire shall be present; the one to teach the laws of God, the other the law of the land[e]."

The separation of the Ecclesiastical from the Temporal Courts was the act of William the Conqueror. No Bishop or Archdeacon was any longer to hold pleas of the laws episcopal in the Hundred, or draw a cause which belongs to the government of souls to the judgment of secular men. Whoever contumaciously refused the episcopal jurisdiction was to be excommunicated; and that, if need be, was to be supported by the King or Sheriff[f].

This was the reward of the support of the Pope, who sent two legates to England, with whom William held a synod when the Saxon Stigand was deposed, because he had no pall from Rome, and Normans were substituted for natives in many of the sees and abbeys. Yet, while the right to send legates was thus conceded, although not without royal licence in each case, no

[d] Burn's Eccl. Law, vol. ii. 81.
[e] Laws of Canute.
[f] *Carta Willelmi* in Thorpe's Ancient Laws, i. 495.



In the reign of Henry patronage and donation c fices, Urban having decree give any ecclesiastical ben London, in 1107, the King *lum et baculum*, gaining th legates should be sent, t Canterbury was to be *legat* faith after St. Anselm's de The settlement of 1107 w resigning the form of inv homage of each prelate b poralities of his preferment

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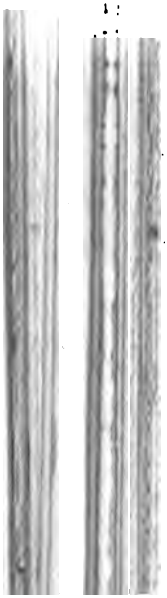
Henry III. owed his establishment in the kingdom to Pope Honorius; and the reigns of Edward I. and Edward II.,—with the exception of one Act in the thirty-fifth year of the first of these monarchs, prohibiting foreigners from holding benefices,—shewed no open resistance to the foreign power.

The accomplished Grossteste, Bishop of Lincoln, from 1235 to 1253, whose fame has hitherto mainly rested on a letter in which he resisted Innocent the Fourth's nomination of his nephew, Frederico di Lavagna, to a canonry at Lincoln, according to that evil practice of beneficing foreign, and especially Italian clerks, which was pursued till their incomes amounted in value to 70,000 marks[h], yet did what he could to support the Pope in obtaining the tax for the Crusades, the payment of which Henry III. had resisted[i]. Though his sense of episcopal responsibility induced him, at the risk of the anger of the Italians, to resist any improper nominations to benefices, "no one can exceed Grossteste in his reverence for the Papal power, and for Innocent IV. in particular[j]." He did much to promote the interest of the Friars, especially the Minorites. He was present at a Council at Lyons in 1245.

The foreign power of the Popes meanwhile had been making itself felt in many obnoxious ways, and the result was a passionate opposition, which found a legal expression in the Statutes of Præmunire.

The first of these, in 27 Edw. III., proceeds upon

[h] Luard's Preface to Grossteste's Works, p. lxxix.
[i] Ibid., p. xvii. [j] Ibid., p. xx.



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the working of the Papal Court, and at last the Great Schism brought matters to a crisis. In the reign of Henry IV. Acts were passed prohibiting licences being given by the King for the infringement of the Statutes of Provisors, or for compositions with him[k]. The Council of Constance, in 1418, tended to heal the schism, and there is nothing in the history of Institutions more striking than the way in which Martin V. did what he could to restore the influence of the Papacy. His relations with the English Church are well worthy of study. The schism in the Papacy did more for the Reformation, from an ecclesiastical point of view, than later writers have recognised[l].

[k] "Pecock, *cir.* 1445, whose ideas on the subject of Papal Supremacy were not at all in advance of his age, conceived that the Pope, as lord paramount of the Universal Church and of all things thereunto pertaining, had a right, strictly speaking, to the entire proceeds of all benefices, and that those whom he placed therein to enjoy them did no sin in giving him (annates) of that which was his own, any more than a bailiff does when he pays anything to the landlord of the soil."—(Churchill Babington's Introd. to Pecock's Repressor, p. xvi.; cf. Repressor, p. 436—444.)

[l] I am indebted to a learned friend for the accompanying exhaustive analysis of the Papal interferences in the mediæval Church of England:—

PAPAL PROCEDURE IN CASE OF PROMOTIONS.

1. *Metropolitans.* 2. *Suffragans.* 3. *Inferior Benefices.*

1. Metropolitans. (Most of the cases will be found in the first volume of the *Anglia Sacra.*)

(*a.*) The gift of the pall, (1) originally recognising, (2) later confirming, (3) and finally conferring Metropolitan powers; coeval with the establishment of Christianity in England, and as early as the time of Egbert, Archbishop of York, 735, understood as necessary for the completeness of the Metropolitan character.



immediately after. (*Flor. W*

(γ.) The right of consecrating will of the King and of the by Calixtus II. in the case 1119. (*Orderic. V.*, 1119, and

(δ.) Right of determining an a disputed election of two Arch by the legate; exercised by E Murdac, of York, the election being quashed. (John of Hexh

(ε.) A disputed election referred Pope, who rejects both candida the electors to elect his own nom

(ζ.) A disputed election coming dates, and in collusion with th person, *mero motu suo :* in 1229

(η.) A disputed election coming be dates to resign, and in oppositi nominee; as in the case of Rob terbury in 1272. (*Anglia Sacra.*

(θ.) An election coming before hi and appoints his own nominee; of Canterbury in 1278.

(ι.) An election coming before hi candidate, and in collusion w

was a period of great agricultural and industrial advancement. The old Wiltshire manor-houses of the

(γ.) The gradual aggression on the rights of the chapters proceeded much as in the case of the Archbishops; (1) by hearing appeals; (2) by deciding against both candidates, and persuading the proxies to elect the papal nominee; (3) by persuading the candidate or candidates to resign, and appointing a new man *mero motu*; (4) by persuading the proxies of all parties to leave the nomination to the Pope; (5) by providing absolutely, without regard to the wishes of King or Chapter.

(δ.) Claim to fill up all benefices, vacated by the death of the Incumbent, at the Court of Rome.

(ε.) Claim to provide for all bishoprics, either vacant or to be vacated: made early in the fourteenth century, and actually exercised in collusion with the King down to the time of the Reformation; during which time the right of the Chapters to elect, and of the Metropolitan to confirm was altogether in abeyance; the Statute of Provisors being systematically transgressed.

(Concordat of 1373. See Rymer, ad ann. Adam Murimuth, p. 214, &c. Statute of Provisors, 25 Edw. III.)

3. Inferior benefices.

Provisions to these, whether in private or public presentation, are simply an usurpation without pretext, and as such resisted from the beginning. They begin by the demand of a prebend in each cathedral and collegiate church, and a portion in each monastery in the reign of Henry III., and may be traced in Matthew Paris almost to the end of the reign. These were made first for the purpose of maintaining the Papal Court, but very early became purchaseable. Forbidden by Statute of Carlisle and Statute of Provisors, 25 Edw. III.; and, owing to the opposition of private patrons, actually defeated in such cases from the time of the passing of the Statute.

Legations.

1. Simply missionary expeditions.
2. Embassies to obtain national recognition for the enactments of particular councils; e.g. mission of John the Chanter, Bede iv. 17, 18, and the Legatine Council of 787. (See Wilkins, *ad ann.*)



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in 1126, and thus helps to c
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6. Appointment of a Suffragan
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9. Archbishops of York occasionall
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10. Martin V. threatens to take aw
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Præmunire. (Wilkins' Conc. ii

itself sensibly felt. "Henry VII. possessed the undisputed right of nominating candidates to the Episcopal Sees. He was not satisfied with bestowing all the clerical promotions, he also appropriated to himself the half of the annates[m]." The see of Rome, occupied by Alexander VI. and Julius II., was ripe for attack, though the actual onslaught was postponed for a few years.

The question now comes, How far did the Statutes of the English Reformation affect the Church of England, as guardian of the faith, and as member of the great Christian polity? To estimate rightly the position, we must see what actually took place in Parliament and Convocation.

After the establishment of legates (1139), suits carried more frequently to Rome. Forbidden by Constitutions of Clarendon, 1164; but suffered after Henry the Second's abjuration in 1173; and constantly carried there down to the Statute of Præmunire, *temp.* Edw. III.

Throughout the whole of this time the administration in private suits at Rome was flagrantly mercenary; but the processes were analogous to those of ordinary courts of law.

PECUNIARY EXACTIONS.

1. Ancient Romescot or Peter's pence.
2. Money levied on appeals, privileges, &c., purchased at Rome.
3. First fruits, &c. (See Gibson's *Codex*.)
4. Sums raised by taxation for Crusades (false or pretended ones, as that against Frederick II.)
5. Sums raised as procurations for the legates, in the thirteenth century, which were very heavy, and were the great cause of popular discontent.
6. Sale of benefices or provisions (indirect).

[m] Ranke, i. 20.

In 1536, both Houses of Convocation acknowledged Henry VIII., "Ecclesiæ et cleri Anglicani singularem protectorem, unicum et supremum dominum, et quantum per Christi legem licet, etiam supremum caput ipsius majestatem recognoscimus[n]." They promised never to attempt to allege claim or put in ure any new canons without the King's licence; or to enact them without his assent; and lastly, they petitioned for a commission of thirty-two persons to revise the Church laws, to annul what was faulty, and to present the remainder to the Crown for fresh confirmation.

These enactments never took final effect, nor entered into the constitution of the Church. They are evidences of the temper of the Catholic clergy at the time. While they do not acknowledge that the power of Church legislation resides in the Crown, they place the exercise of it under Crown restraints. All corrective jurisdiction is definitely annexed to the Crown, though nothing is said of directive jurisdiction.

This Act was repealed by 1 and 2 Ph. and M., c. 8, and when the repealing Act was itself repealed, the repealing parts of it were saved in 1 Eliz., c. 1, except as to certain of the rescinded acts.

The 1 Eliz., c. i. sect. 17, provides "that such juris-

[n] In the preamble to 25 Hen. VIII., c. 19, it is stated "the Clergy of this realm of England, have not only knowledged according to the truth, that the Convocations of the same Clergy are, always have been, and ought to be assembled by the king's writ," &c., which is a distinct falsehood. See the history in Atterbury on Convocation, pp. 82 sqq.

dictions, privileges, superiorities, and pre-eminences, spiritual and ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority hath heretofore been, and may lawfully be, exercised or used for the visitation of the ecclesiastical state and persons, and for reformation, order, and correction of the same, and of all manner of errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempt, and enormities, shall for ever by authority of this present Parliament, be united and annexed to the imperial Crown of the realm."

In the nineteenth section it provides that all Bishops and ecclesiastical persons shall take the oath of the Queen's Supremacy, as the only Supreme Governor of this realm, and of all other Her Highness's dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual and ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal. The clergy at ordination subscribe a clause similar to this oath, which in terms was repealed by 1 G. and M., c. 8.

It will be observed that neither the words of the Article, nor those of any of the documents still in force, make the Sovereign the source or fountain-head of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The powers given are corrective not directive powers; for reformation of abuse, not for the ordinary administration of the offices of the Church.

One could not have said this in the days of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. in view of Cromwell's Vicar-Generalship, of the episcopal commissions taken out by the Bishops, of the title Head assumed by the monarch. But these statutes and practices were repealed. One

cannot exaggerate the importance of Elizabeth's change of style from Head to Governor. So much resides in a name, that although the actual power claimed by Henry VIII. under the title Head, was no greater than that of Elizabeth, the name Head might have been developed into the claim of any amount of power. The position then assumed was that certain ancient jurisdictions which had belonged to the Crown had been usurped by the Curia of Rome, and that this must be remedied. The title, therefore, of the law of 1 Eliz. is, "An Act to restore to the Crown the ancient jurisdiction over the Estate Ecclesiastical and Spiritual, and abolishing all foreign powers repugnant

nine Articles [o]. The northern rebellion had just been subdued, and the unhappy agents in it had been hanged in hundreds. The Roman Catholics were subdued for the moment, but embittered and exasperated beyond imagination. The Regent Murray had been murdered by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, and the terror of assassination, a too commonly employed political weapon in the sixteenth century, menaced Queen Elizabeth. It will be seen in the document: 1. that she only claimed the authority that had from immemorial time attached to the English Crown; 2. that she challenged no superiority to define faith or change ceremony; 3. that the Royal Supremacy extended only to persons; 4. that she has to provide that the Church be orderly governed and established; 5. that she was so far tolerant that she did not mean her subjects to be molested in matters of faith, so long as they did not gainsay Scripture or the Creeds, and that they might retain their own opinions so long as they were outwardly quiet and resorted to Church; 6. she appealed to a free General Council, promising to abide by its award, so as the truth were not obtruded on her by threats of war and rebellion, by fulminations, or other worldly tyrannous violences or cruel practices [p].

[o] Froude, vol. x. p. 5, Domestic MSS., 1569—1579.

[p] Henry VIII. was excommunicated, and in the Bull his subjects were commanded to renounce their allegiance, and the nobles were ordered "sub ejusdem excommunicationis ac perditionis bonorum suorum pœnis," to unite with all Christian princes in expelling Henry from England. Elizabeth was excommunicated in pretty similar terms, but not until twelve years after her accession. In answer to a request from

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her people should live in the faith, obedience, and observance of the Christian religion; that consequently there should be a Church orderly governed and established; and that the ecclesiastical ministers should be supported by the civil powers, that her subjects might live in the fear of God to the salvation of their souls. In this, Christian princes differed from Pagan princes, who, when they did best, took but a worldly care of their subjects' bodies and earthly lives. And yet,' she said, 'to answer further to some malicious untruths, she never had any meaning or intent that any of her subjects should be troubled or molested by examinations or inquisitions in any matter of their faith, as long as they should not gainsay the authority of the Holy Scriptures, or deny the articles of faith contained in any of the Creeds received and used in the Church; they might retain their own opinions in any rites or ceremonies appertaining to religion, as long as they should in their outward conversations shew themselves quiet and conformable, and not manifestly repugnant to the laws for resorting to their ordinary churches.

"'So far and no farther the Crown of England claimed authority over the Church; and if any potentate in Christendom, challenging universal and sole superiority, should condemn the English princes for refusing to recognise that superiority, Elizabeth said she would be ready, in any free and general assembly, where such potentate should not be only judge in his own cause, to make such an answer in her defence as

should in reason satisfy the university of good and faithful Christians; or, if she failed to satisfy them, as the humble servant and handmaid of Christ, she would be willing to conform herself and her policy to that which truth should guide her into for the advancement of the Christian faith and concord of Christendom; she would admit as truth, however, only that which Almighty God should please to reveal by ordinary means in peaceable manner, and not that which should be obtruded upon her by threatenings of bloodshed and motions of war and rebellion, or by curses, fulminations, or other worldly tyrannous violences or cruel practices.

Such was the view of the Supremacy, which Elizabeth, in terror of foreign invasion and intestine commotion, probably also in entire conformity with her own real opinions, propounded to her subjects. She does not claim so much as Henry VIII. had acquired. Nothing is said as to any right absolutely to designate the person to be elected to any vacant see, or of the prohibition to enact any canons without the leave of the sovereign, which Henry VIII. had forced upon the Clergy. These had been made part of the law of the land; but Elizabeth does not claim them as part of her prerogative. They might, accordingly, be abandoned at any time, without touching on the prerogative claimed for the Crown. She claims only a personal authority over all her subjects. Henry VIII., in his wily "Letter to the Clergy of the province of York, A.D. 1533, touching his title of supreme head of the Church of England[r]," pointed out that the meaning of the words, *caput Ecclesiæ*, were limited by those united with them, *et cleri Anglicani*. "It were too absurd," he says, "for us to be called Head of the Church, representing the mystical body of Christ. And therefore, although *Ecclesia* is spoken of in these words touched in the proeme, yet there is added, *et cleri Anglicani*, which words conjoined restrain, by way of interpretation, the word *Ecclesiam*, and is as much as to say, *the Church* i.e. *the clergy of England*. Which

pulpit." The original MS. is in the Rolls' House. (Domestic MSS., 1569—1579.

[r] In Wilkins' *Conc.*, iii. 763.

manner of speaking in the law ye have professed ye many times find, and likewise in many other places." And of the Clergy also, he claims only that their "persons, acts, and deeds should be under the power of the prince by God assigned, whom they should acknowledge as their head." And for this he thought it to suffice, that they were governed by ordinances, made in convocations assembled by authority of kings. "If you take *spiritualibus* for spiritual men, that is to say, priests, clerks, their good acts and deeds worldly, in all this both we and *all other princes* be at this day chiefs and heads, after whose ordinance, whether in general or particular, they be ordered and governed.

time do, which ye know well enough; so as in all these articles, concerning the persons of priests, their laws, their acts, and order of living, forasmuch as they be indeed temporal and concerning this present life only, in those we (as we are called) be indeed in this realm *caput*, and because there is no man above us here, we be indeed *supremum caput*." Henry VIII. then proceeded to disclaim authority in things spiritual. "As to spiritual things, meaning by them the Sacraments, being by God ordained as instruments of efficacy and strength, whereby grace is of His infinite goodness conferred upon His people, forasmuch as they be no worldly nor temporal things, they have no worldly nor temporal head, but only Christ that did institute them, by whose ordinance they be ministered here by mortal men elect, chosen, and ordered as God hath willed for that purpose, who be the Clergy; who for the time they do that, and in that respect, 'tanquam ministri versantur in his, quæ hominum potestati non subjiciuntur; in quibus si male versantur sine scandalo, Deum ultorem habent; si cum scandalo, hominum cognitio et vindicta est.'" Here he asserts, again, the distinction of cases in which "the prince is the chief doer," and those "when by sufferance *or priviledge* the prelates intromit themselves therein[s]." On judgment as to heretical teaching, he does not speak; but he adds, "We be not in deed nor in name, to him that would sincerely understand it, head of such things, being not

[s] Something seems to have dropped out. It stands, "either the prince," &c., without any corresponding "or."

spiritual, as they be not temporal, and yet to these words spoken of us, *ad evitandam illam calumniam*, there is added, *quantum per legem Christi licet.*" Henry VIII. did not claim to interfere in things spiritual. In the Act "for restraint of appeals," which lay as the foundation of the rest, and which is still part of the law of the land, while claiming for himself to be "furnished, by the goodness and sufferance of Almighty God, with plenary, whole and entire power, pre-eminence, authority, prerogative, and *jurisdiction, to render and yield justice* and final determination *to all manner of folks*, resiants, or subjects within this his realm, in all *causes*, matters, debates, and contentions, happening to occur,

administer all such offices and duties as to their rooms spiritual doth appertain."

The Act of Parliament, which is still in force, stated that it belonged to the spiritualty to "declare, and interpret, and shew any cause of the law divine which might come in question." Elizabeth, following Henry VIII. both in what he claimed and in what he disclaimed, (except the title of "Head,") disclaimed "all superiority to define, decide, or determine any Article or point of the Christian faith."

And yet it is on this very point that imminent peril to the faith lies. It is now a principle of English justice that one charged with any offence is to be protected against criminating himself; it is also a principle that any doubt is to be given in his favour. On a doctrinal subject doubt might, in a given case, be raised as to the force either of the theological terms used by the Church, or of those in which a Clerk incriminated is alleged to have contravened them. In the former case, according to the 24th Henry, c. 12, it was clearly presupposed that the spiritualty would define, "declare, interpret, and shew" such point of doctrine. Elizabeth expressly denied that the Crown had any such power. And yet this power is practically exercised by lawyers, by authority of the Crown, and this with the avowed principle that doctrinal statements, by which the case is to be determined, are to be ruled to mean as little as they can anyhow be made to mean, and this by lawyers unfamiliar with the terms. The result has been, that vital doctrines have been successively made

open questions. Discipline is utterly prostrate. Formerly, one with cure of souls, if suspected of teaching error for truth, of poisoning instead of feeding his sheep, had to clear himself of the charge. Now, the object of lawyers (according to the principle of acquitting one criminated if possible) is to evacuate the meaning of terms, whereby the Church has defined and guarded the faith. This power, inspired by lawyers, exercised in the direction of the casting down of all dogmatic truth, threatens the existence of Christianity in England, and it remains to be seen what power can cope with it. If not resisted, there seems no guarantee for the preservation of any one distinctive doctrine of the Christian religion. The first great blow to the



exactly what the literal and grammatical sense of the Article implies.

1. "The Queen's Majesty hath the chief power in the realm of England and other her dominions." This implies an assertion of civil supremacy, such as was wielded by the Emperors in Germany, and a repudiation of vassalage to the Pope. King John had consented to receive back his crown as a gift, and his kingdom as a fief of the Holy See. The Pope was no longer to be the Suzerain of England.

In the early draft of the Article, "Ireland," which was specially claimed by the Popes, so that the King was only called Lord of Ireland, is mentioned. In the Elizabethan draft the word is made general, "other her dominions." As Queen Mary had lost Calais, the last English possession on French ground, the wider expression may have reference, either by a mere recognition of the popular style which attributed the kingdom of France to the Sovereign of England; or to Scotland, over which the English sovereigns had always aimed to rule, and into which she was at the time exceedingly anxious to introduce the Anglican Polity.

The next assertion is that to the Queen "the chief government of all estates of this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all causes doth appertain." This first strikes at the mediæval laws whereby clerks were exempted from the civil courts. It was a restoration of one of the Constitutions of Clarendon. The bad effect of these exemptions had been found. It was

for the good of the clergy themselves that they were brought within the power of the civil law. The difficulty lies "in all causes." As the subject under consideration is "the civil magistrate," it must refer to property. In all causes where a question of property comes in (as we have seen in the earliest times in the instance of Aurelian and Paul of Samosata), the civil magistrate must interfere. No subject may divest himself of his right as a subject of claiming the protection of the law of the land. Any civil court may interfere in the disputes of a religious body, in the way of interpreting the condition of Church membership, the meaning of trust deeds, &c. It will be seen, as we



spiritual care of souls, and this jurisdiction is exercised, 1. in the *forum externum* of the courts; and 2. in the *forum internum* of conscience and the sacraments.

2. It is divided further into 1. voluntary, that exercised over willing subjects, such as manumission and adoption in things civil; or ordination, consecration, absolution, dispensation, institution in things sacred; 2. contentious, that exercised against unwilling subjects, such as summoning and punishing. The first, in some cases, may be exercised outside its proper territory, validly and licitly; the second not so.

3. It is divided also into 1. ordinary, that which belongs to any one by reason of his office or dignity, by law, canon, or custom; and 2. delegated, that which a man has, not by his own right, but solely by commission from another, for whom he acts.

4. Again, it is divided into *imperium* and simple jurisdiction. *Imperium* is that which is exercised by the *officium nobile* of the judge, which acts *motu proprio*, from its own power in punishing crimes, &c. Simple jurisdiction is that which is exercised by the *officium mercenarium* of the judge, when he proceeds to try at the instance of the agent.

Imperium is divided into *jurisdictio alta*, or *imperium merum*; and 2. *jurisdictio inferior*, or *imperium mixtum*. The first respects public utility only, as the punishment of malefactors; the second respects private utility, as appointing tutors.

Under *imperium* comes the right of inflicting every kind of punishment.

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In Waterworth's Council of Trent it is stated that at the Council a discussion took place as to the source of jurisdiction. The Pope wished it to declare that jurisdiction came from the Chair of St. Peter. The answer was, it was a question whether it was not given in Holy Orders, and on that ground they refused to affirm it.

By the code of the Universal Church, all jurisdiction in the provinces is given by the Metropolitan, but the Metropolitan himself receives his jurisdiction from the Provincial Bishops. The Pope, if Universal Bishop, must receive his jurisdiction from all the bishops of Christendom; for, stripped of his patriarchal and universal powers, he is only an ordinary bishop. This militates against the Ultramontane theory, which maintains that the Pope is as much above a bishop, as a bishop is above a presbyter. Such a position would imply a direct ordination from Jesus Christ, which, though a logical consequence of the premiss, has never yet been claimed.

As the Queen of England was Suzerain and not vassal, so was she not subject to the Papal courts; not only is the law of the land declared paramount, but the Queen's Canon law comes to be substituted for the Pope's Canon law. The whole expensive foreign procedure, which had been so long the complaint of the English, was by the Church abolished. The Article gives ecclesiastical sanctions to the different Acts of Parliament in which this Reformation was carried out.

But now came an important modification, imported

into the Article at the last revision, in view of the political situation of the Queen, and of the intellectual progress of the controversies of the Reformation. These two reservations are that the Church, "we" the spiritualty, in whom the power of definition lies, "give not to our princes the ministering either of God's word or of the Sacraments;" that is, neither the right to define doctrine, nor the discipline of the *forum interius* of the Sacraments. Not only is the right to preach and teach reserved, but the highest form of that teaching, dogmatic definition, as in councils, must be included in the expression of ministering God's word. None ever ministered God's word so efficaciously as the fathers of



(observe the distinction implied between the two swords and the indorsement of the mediæval interpretation of the text, *Ecce duo gladii*) the stubborn and evil doers; that is, to exercise over all a certain corrective jurisdiction.

The next proposition is that the Bishop of Rome —*Pontifex Romanus*—hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England,—not in this Church of England, but in this realm. The jurisdiction which has just been claimed for the Queen's Majesty cannot of course, by the force of the term, belong to the Apostolic See. The jurisdiction that is given to the one has been taken away from the other. They are correlative. It is a civil question, the subject of the whole article is the civil magistrate, therefore it must be a civil jurisdiction. It must be so; for plainly both the word and the Sacraments have been excepted, and therefore it touches the question between Pope and Queen, not between Pope and Bishop, except so far as the bishop is an English subject. It has to deal with the temporal side of spiritual things, not with the spiritual things themselves. So far as the article is concerned, it does not affect the question of the Scriptural *πρωτεία* of St. Peter, or even that *πρεσβεία* granted by the early Councils to his successors in the see of Rome[y].

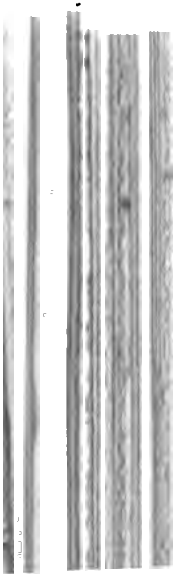
[y] Hallam speaking of the action of King Henry VIII. takes exactly the line adopted in the text, and says, "As for the Pope's merely spiritual primacy and authority in matters of faith, which are, or at least were, defended by Catholics of the Gallican or Cisalpine school on quite different grounds from his jurisdiction or his legislatorial power in points

We saw just now that the right of punishment was included in *imperium*. There are four theories on which the right of punishment is grounded, and these theories have distinguished the progress of human society. All have an element of truth in them: no one by itself is adequate to meet all the circumstances of the case. The first theory on which the right of punishment is grounded is that of expiation. The crime against society is here looked upon in its primary light, as an offence against God. This is the view of theocracies, and more or less of early society generally. God is a God of order. Civil society is His work. Every wrong, therefore, done to

element of expiation comes in in the case of every punishment.

The next aspect of punishment is that of retaliation. An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth. This is the principle of what is termed vindictive justice. The divine relation to man is here not so directly marked as in the former case, though in the abstract, God being Justice Himself, He really is considered under this theory. However, mainly, the question turns on the relations between man and man. So much injury inflicted must be compensated by so much suffering undergone; for so much property taken or destroyed, so much restitution made. An extreme form of this is the right of vendetta, namely, that when the retaliation has not taken place in the person of the offender, his heirs are still liable. In proportion as law is established, and provisions are made therein for the redress of individual wrongs, in that proportion an individual abdicates in favour of society his right to private vengeance.

The third theory of punishment, is that which finds most acceptance with modern thought. It is that which bases its right to inflict such pain as punishment necessarily implies, on the ground of prevention of crime. Here the idea of God is to a degree further eliminated, and the matter is based upon a theory of utility. This theory in its degree is perfectly legitimate, resting as it does on that self-love which God has implanted in man, but it may be exercised in a way that self-love may degenerate into selfishness, and



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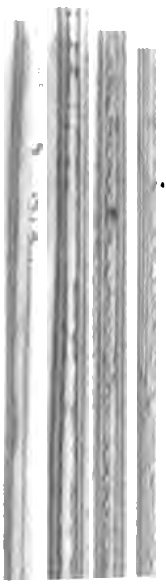
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All these four theories are distinctly recognised in Holy Scripture. The theory of expiation in those striking rites which were to be practised in the case of the barbarous slaughter; that of retaliation in many of the awards of the Mosaic dispensation, only that the retaliation was taken out of the hands of the individual injured, and was inflicted by the judge, as the representative of God. It was an embodying in written law, the rule of the Divine justice, "As I have done, so God hath requited me[z]." That of prevention and that of amendment in the theories of government put forth by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans.

Having laid down these principles, it remains for us to test the question of capital punishment by each of them. It is a tremendous thing that any class of men may judicially and in cold blood take the life of a fellow-creature, deprive him of that which they cannot restore, and abridge the term of probation and instruction which the life of each man is. A thoughtful school in the present day has greatly doubted, and in some cases absolutely denied, the lawfulness of this. Life, they say, is something so sacred that it is inviolable. Any punishment short of that is permissible, but on any account to violate the sanctuary of life is wrong. Moreover, it is maintained that society fares best by minimizing the measure of punishment in all cases, and that, if society can go on equally well without

[z] Jud. i. 7.



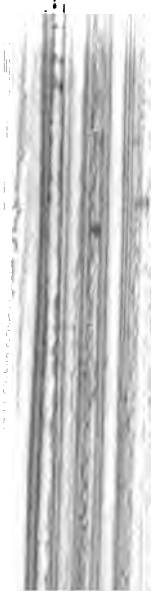
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The Article on the Civil Magistrate concludes by asserting the lawfulness of wearing arms and of war. Both these are permitted, on the ground that under certain circumstances man may take the life of his fellow. Individually he may protect life or property, even to the destruction of the life of his assailant. Hence the permissibility of arms, not only of defence but of offence. Our Lord sanctions the use of the sword. It is a terrible necessity, still it is a necessity. Of course as the civil government becomes stronger, and interferes more promptly and efficaciously in the redress of wrongs, that necessity diminishes, and there is perhaps no such test of the real civilization of a country as the non-necessity of the use of weapons for personal protection. From the time that the court-sword went out as a fashion, there was a marked advance in civilization. It is a degeneracy when men have to adopt the revolver and the bowie knife.

The last point treated of is War.

Cicero[a] describes war as a striving by force (*certationem per vim*), but custom has established that it is not an action but a condition, which is indicated by the word, so that it comes to mean the state of those who are striving by force. This applies both to public wars, wherein nations are concerned, and also to private wars, as where a traveller contends with a robber, and which are the first form of wars, for the word itself, *bellum*, is derived from *duellum*, 'a combat between two.'

[a] Grotius, lib. i. cap. 11, vol. i. p. 2. ed. Lausanne, 1751.



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III. War hangs on the same principle as capital punishment. Our Lord has forbidden neither the one nor the other.

IV. The early Christians followed the Jewish customs where they were not forbidden by our Lord, therefore war is lawful to Christian men.

V. The examples of Cornelius and of the various pious centurions in the Gospels, are evidences that there is no sin in bearing arms. Add the number of saints who have been soldiers.

VI. St. Paul had no hesitation in using the services of the soldiers, the four quaternions of men who conducted him from Jerusalem to Philippi. Also he refused not to die if guilty of breach of the law.

VII. Wars are predicted in the 18th chapter of the Apocalypse, with the manifest approbation of the saints.

VIII. Our Lord abrogated only the ceremonial law of Moses, by which the Gentiles were separated from the chosen people, but He left the natural law and what was deemed right and lawful by well-conditioned and well-moralled states.

In short, while we must deplore the necessity of war, its existence is a necessity of the present state of the world. A large army is the best guarantee for peace. The possibility of war, coupled with the knowledge of its misery, waste, and expense, acts as a pacificatory element on earth. Nay, actual war, though in one sense deplorable, is not wholly bad. It braces up the nerves of a nation, it developes heroism, and

prevents men from resting too exclusively on a materialistic money-getting civilization.

It need hardly be said that, while on the one hand the providence of God employs war to scourge and amend men's corrupt ways, yet the necessity of war is a token of decayed Christian love. The Christian must mourn even over "just wars." At the Incarnation the herald-song was, "On earth peace, good will towards man." Ambitious wars, "What are they but a vast brigandage[d]?" "Christians who originate an unjust war from lust of power or wealth, or from envy lest a neighbouring prince become too great or powerful, are not so much Christians as Pagans." But, says



ARTICLE XXXVIII.

De illicita bonorum communicatione.

Facultates et bona Christianorum, non sunt communia, quoad jus et possessionem (ut quidam Anabaptistæ falso jactant); debet tamen quisque de his quæ possidet, pro facultatum ratione, pauperibus eleemosynas benigne distribuere.

"Of Christian Men's Goods, which are not common.

"The riches and goods of Christians are not common, as touching the right, title, and possession of the same, as certain Anabaptists do falsely boast. Notwithstanding, every man ought, of such things as he possesseth, liberally to give alms to the poor, according to his ability."

An investigation into the origin of the notion of property is one of great interest, not only on philosophical and literary, but on practical grounds also. Such questions as the measure of relief to which the able-bodied poor are entitled, or the proportion of remuneration to be allotted to labour as against capital, bring the matter before our thoughts in a way that appeals to all. Yet it is difficult to lay

down a comprehensive statement of the question; for jurists generally assume the idea of property as a postulate, use it as the foundation of law, deal with it as an ultimate fact, and confine themselves to the modifications and restrictions enforced by society on its unlimited use. The old civil law brocard, "Quod nullius est, fit occupantis," is tacitly assumed as indisputable.

"God bestowed on mankind in general a right over the inferior things of nature immediately after the Creation, and again at the Flood. All things, says Justin, were undivided and common to all, as if all had one patrimony. Hence it was that every one

shewn by his nakedness; there was in him rather the ignorance of vice than the knowledge of virtue.... But in this simple and innocent life men persisted not, but applied their minds to diverse arts. 'God made man upright, but they have found out many inventions[b].' The most ancient arts appeared in the first brothers. From the diversity of their courses arose emulation and then slaughter, and at length when the good were infected by the conversation of the bad, the giant life of violence prevailed. The world being washed by the Flood, there succeeded the desire of pleasure, to which wine ministered, and hence arose unlawful loves. But concord was more broken by ambition, at Babel; after which men parted asunder and severally possessed the various parts of the earth, yet so that afterwards there remained a community not of cattle, but of pastures. This lasted, till the number of men and cattle so increased that lands every where began to be divided, not among nations as before, but many families also; but wells in a thirsty land, every one made his own by seizure.

"Hence we learn wherefore men departed from the primitive community; 1st, of moveables, and, 2ndly, of immoveables also; viz., because when, no longer content to feed upon what grew of itself, to dwell in caves, to go naked, or clad in bark or skins, they had chosen a more artificial life, there was need of industry, which every one must use.

"The reason why the fruits of the earth were not

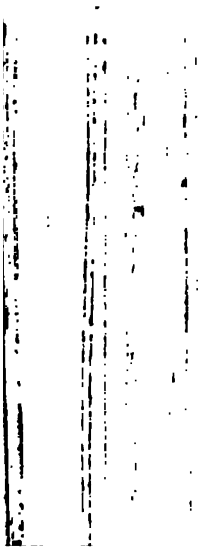
[b] Eccles. vii. 29.

brought together for common use, was, 1st, the distance of places whereby men are separate, and, 2nd, the failure of justice and love, whereby it came to pass, that neither in labour nor in the consumption of those fruits due equality was preserved. Thus we learn how property arose, not only by an act of the mind (for they could not know the thoughts of one another, what every one would have to be his own, that they might abstain from it, and many might desire the same thing,) but by a certain covenant, either *express*, as by division, or *tacit*, as by occupation. Community of goods being given up, and no division being made,

For example, the notion was very much modified among the Celtic races. Their possessions accrued not to one, but to the tribe. Sismondi shews this with regard to the Highlands of Scotland; and the recent publication of the Brehon laws in Ireland, exhibits to us the picture of a simple state of society, not without its civilization, in which tribal possession forms a most important constituent. Analogous to this is the village-system in India, in which from time immemorial there has been a joint occupation and possession by the ryots. Dynasty after dynasty of conquerors, often foreign conquerors, utterly ignorant or regardless of this peculiar institution, have ruled in India; laws, such as those made by Lord Cornwallis in misunderstanding of what was dearest to the feelings of the poor villagers, have been enacted, but still the old system has survived to this day. Neither can this be said to be the characteristic of the Indo-European race, for the recent war in New Zealand, so deeply to be regretted on every ground, has arisen from an ignorance on the part of the British authorities of these peculiar tenures.

But, furthermore, the idea of property has been challenged both on theological and philosophical grounds; on the first by the Anabaptists, as indicated in the Article; on the latter by such communists as St. Simon, Fourier, and Proudhon, who boldly state the matter on the apparent paradox that it is property that is the theft.

With regard to the first, one cannot do better than quote the weighty words of Lord Stair, the eminent



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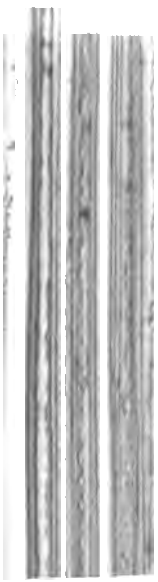


peasants, and at last the outrages at Münster shewed to what terrible results sincere ill-guided zeal may lead men.

They had strong millenarian expectations. After foretelling the utter extirpation of all the ungodly, they announced the kingdom of Christ as immediately thereafter established upon earth. A new and perfect life, in common among Christians, would then be established, without magistrate or external law. Even the Bible was to be abolished; for the perfect children of God needed it not. Perfect equality and community of goods would prevail, and even marriage be no longer contracted. Of course war was unlawful, and oaths unnecessary, in this glorious kingdom of Christ. These high and ideal notions cannot but extort our admiration, but the Anabaptists wished to force these on men unprepared, and by violence. Many other errors were held by them, and it is to be feared that Antinomianism especially prevailed amongst some of them. "In the first Anabaptists we discern, beside the simplicity of the child, the fury of the wildest demagogue, who, to create a happy and holy world, destroyed in the most unholy and calamitous manner the actual one; and, as a blind instrument, ministered to the ambition, the avarice, and all the basest passions of the reprobate men, whom we so frequently meet with in the early history of the sect[e]."

The speculations of the Anabaptists are things of the past; but the questions which they raised are still

[e] Möhler, ii. 161.



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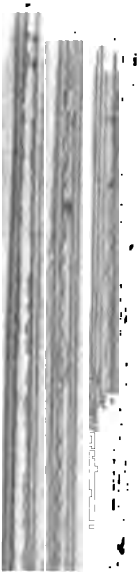


But after the institution of the Franciscans, with their various reforms, nothing was done for the poor. To burn Huss and Jerome of Prague was no real solution of the question. A terrorism might silence complaint; but the complaint was there still, and so the evil went on till the Reformation. It would be curious to trace the political causes of that event. In all countries it was influenced thereby. Calvinism made Holland and Geneva republican; it became the element of political disturbances in Scotland, the weakest of all royalties; and the Stuarts with their pet dictum, "no bishop no king," put strongly and truly the democratic element of the new system. It was the same in England, modified by the strong will of the Tudors, and the greater strength of the monarchical principle. In Germany, where the nobility were stronger than in any other country in Europe, the rise of the Anabaptists saved them by precipitating the element of communism that was held in solution, and giving the nobles an easy victory over them. In Italy and Spain, (with the exception of Venice,) the elements of Protestantism got trodden out simultaneously with those of political freedom; while in France, the struggle of the two principles was fought out in internecine feud, more than one half of France, nobility and all, being Protestant. The massacre of St. Bartholomew was a piece of cruel State-craft, as well as of religious persecution,—the revocation of the Edict of Nantes expelled with Protestantism the last efforts of political free-thought of France. Mean-

while, the absenteeism caused by the crushing of the political power of the nobility, and the consequent enforcement of their attendance at Court, added to the extravagance of the kings after the time of Mazarin and Richelieu, established a spirit of alienation between the ranks in society, and an impoverishment of the lower classes, which resulted in the first Revolution. The good side of that movement was a vindication of the rights of man as man; the misery was a denial of his rights as the creature of God. A political economy which eliminates God as the main factor in life is Sciolism.

jealousy by the people, in reality was a boon to them. The national resources were not taxed by the existence of great standing armies, and therefore the outbursts of popular misery were few, and the demand for the solution of the questions affecting the rights of labour and capital respectively, never came to a bloody arbitrement.

It has been reserved to the nineteenth century, when industry has been developed to a degree that our fathers never dreamt of, when the discovery of gold has upset for a time the whole measure of prices, when increased locomotion has indefinitely thrown open markets, to call up all these questions again. For in spite of all material advancement, a hideous pauperism menaces society, and the enlightenment of the age is thereby terribly reminded of that Biblical truth it would fain deny or invalidate, that "the poor shall never cease out of the land." And the awful thing is, that the pauperism of an industrial civilization is more hopeless, more incurable, more degraded, than that of any prior state of things. When an oriental sovereign could compel a whole nation to build a pyramid, when the daughters and goods of the vassal were not safe from the lust and rapacity of the overlord, it was simply the misfortune of the unhappy ones, and their cry entered into the ear of the Lord God of Sabaoth; but now the pauperism of the age is the result of moral degradation, and drink, and every kind of sin, and the squalor of the external circumstance is the symbol of the foulness of that which exists within.



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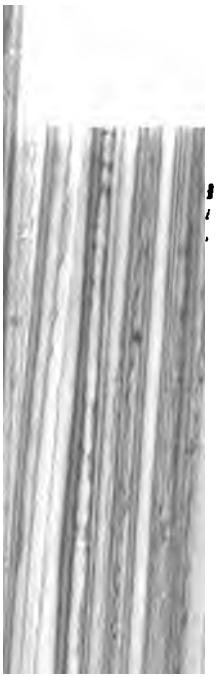
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are, 1. the exaggerate
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sical health of the people. 4. The extreme division of labour, which makes man more and more of a machine, and impoverishes him mentally and morally. Lastly, the hideous mixture of the sexes in the workshops, and the abuse of the young, which produces in some cases a corruption unheard of in Christian times.

No wonder that all this produces pauperism, that pauperism is misery, and misery cries aloud, Why should these things be? No wonder that, unable to detect that much of its misery is of its own making, poverty should claim a hearing in the presence of inordinate wealth, and demand in the accents of despair, For what end has property been instituted?

It has been said that every heresy is the intellectual vengeance of some suppressed truth; in any case, there is often an underlying truth at the bottom of each aberration. What we have said of the image of God not being entirely obliterated by the Fall will induce us to acknowledge the fact that man still hankers in a feeble way after the Good and the True, does not naturally take up with the evil and the hideous, so that his errors are disguised in some specious form of virtue; otherwise error would not be so nearly synonymous with sin.

Now what was the underlying truth which lay at the bottom of the Anabaptist theories, which gave point to the paradox of Fourier and Proudhon? It was that in the eyes of God all property is held in trust for our neighbour. While in the order of nature and of civil polity, that state is most firmly established where the individuality of ownership is most strictly



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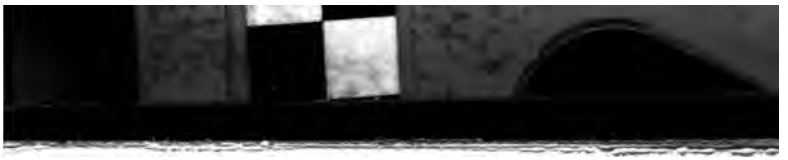
and brings the necessaries of life by cheapness of production within the reach of the poor, it is awful to think of the terrible race which competition causes, the neglect of immortal souls in the training of those who by a horrid sarcastic truth are termed "hands," and the countless evils which spring from the system, not to mention the mutilations by machinery, the premature exhaustion of the physical powers, the creedless unlovely life, and the solitary workhouse-death.

It is needless to deplore evils which we cannot mend. At least, each one in his station should try and do his duty, and so mitigate the evils consequent on the necessary permission of property. Matters will not be mended by revolution, though we know from an awful experience, that evils of this kind neglected, are apt to end in revolution, and a country where its nobles and capitalists betray their trust is apt from time to time to be regenerated in their blood. The true course is, that each one in his station should live according to the rule of the "Sermon on the Mount:" live a Christ-like life on earth, the life of the brethren of Him who laid down His life for His friends; love his brother as himself, render to all their due, love as brethren, be pitiful, be courteous; so shall one step be gained towards the reign of righteousness and charity. The rest must be relegated to the great compensation day. "Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things."

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sory. Again, into the oath simple, and the oath solemn, such as homages and professions of faith.

Again, it is divided into the oath of attestation, the oath of execration, the oath of threatening.

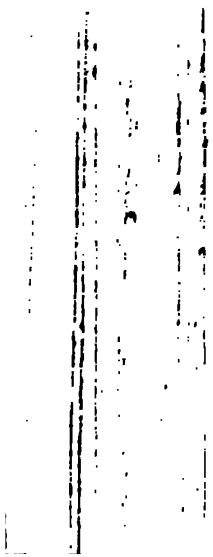
Three conditions, as the Article quotes from Jeremiah (chap. iv.), are requisite to a legitimate oath—justice, judgment, and truth; justice, that the thing be lawful and honest, and so the Name of the holy God be not adduced in confirmation of injustice or sin; judgment, in that the oath be not taken without necessity or grave cause, or manifest advantage, with prudent consideration of the mind, and pure and reverent affection of the will; and truth, that the thing be true, or at least on reasonable grounds and *bonâ fide* believed to be true; so that the holy Name be not brought forward to testify to a lie, which were perjury and a great sin.

An oath so taken, is not only no sin, but a religious act. "Thou shalt fear the Lord, and swear by His Name[a]."

But the habit of swearing without a cause, indiscreetly and inadvertently, whether the thing be true or false, is a mortal sin; so that such a consuetudinary sinner, neglecting to amend his ways, sins grievously by the force of the retention of such custom, as often as he so swears. Being in proximate peril of mortal sin from the habit, he sins also in not attempting to cure himself.

The habit of swearing has very much gone out

[a] Deut. x. 20.



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without that, have sworn the same, he must stand to his word, because the greatest simplicity there can be agrees to an oath.

Yet the signification of an oath is not to be extended beyond the received custom of speech, as it is one thing to give, it is another thing not to require that which is taken away.

Above all things, an oath binds nothing made of unlawful matter. A sworn promise to do what is either naturally, or by the interdict of God, unlawful, does not hold good. It is sometimes against duty to perform a promise, or to keep an oath. If one's faith be pledged to commit a sin, it is strange to call it faith.

Also, an oath that hinders a greater moral good does not hold. We owe to God progress in good, and so may not take away from ourselves the liberty of so doing. A man who swears never to do another a good turn would not be bound.

No man, also, is held to fulfil what is impossible.

Next, as to the form of oaths. These may vary, but all agree in fact. The calling in God to be witness and avenger underlies the idea of every oath. Every oath terminates in imprecation upon the perjurer. Other names and things, as one's country, one's head, one's children, sometimes were associated with God, but pleonastically.

The effect of an oath is the settlement of controversies, as the greatest assurance among men. Some authorities maintain that even a forced oath is to be

kept, out of reverence to God. The Hebrew kings were reproved by the prophets, because they kept not faith with the Babylonian conquerors. And the person alone to whom we swear is not to be respected, but He by whom we swear, God. This suffices to create an obligation; and therefore oaths to tyrants, and pirates, and other common enemies, are valid. In such bad cases, however, the heir of a man would not be bound.

An oath to another, being a solemn promise, the person who makes it is released from that oath, if he to whom it is made refuses to accept the advantage so promised. Neither is a man bound, if the quality under which he hath sworn to any, ceaseth; as, if a magistrate cease to be a magistrate. When a man resigns a place, the oath is voided by the loss of the place.

As to whether that which is done against an oath is unlawful only, or also void, in law, one must say that if one's faith only be engaged, an act done against an oath is valid, in law, e.g. a will, or a sale: it is not valid, if the oath be so conceived, that withal it contains a full abdication of the power to act.

The acts of superiors cannot so far prevail, that an oath, so far as it is truly obligatory, is not to be performed; for that it is of natural and divine right. But a superior may forbid the taking of oaths, or prevent their fulfilment.

Or a mixed case may be, where the superior ordains that the oath shall be of force, if approved by him.



On this ground is defended the power of dispensation in the Church.

Our Lord and St. James do not forbid the "assertory" oath, of which there are some instances in St. Paul, but the oath promissory of a future uncertain thing. "It is best and most profitable, and to the rational creature most convenient, to abstain from swearing, and so to accustom oneself to truthfulness, that one's word may be taken for an oath [c].

The most advanced schools of modern jurisprudence are more than doubtful as to the policy of using oaths in judicial processes. When a man determines to tell the truth, he will do so without an oath; when he has determined to lie, an oath will not hinder him. This is true; but, on the other hand, so illogical is the action of the human conscience, that there are many who will be deterred by an oath from stating what they would state without that sanction. In the popular mind there is a great gulph between a lie and a perjury, and besides the fact that perjury is punishable at law, an oath gives a further guarantee for the enunciation of the truth.

[c] Grotius.

THE RATIFICATION.

Confirmatio Articulorum.

Hic liber antedictorum ***Articulorum jam denuo approbatus est, per assensum et consensum Serenissimæ Reginæ Elizabethæ Dominæ nostræ, Dei gratia Angliæ,*** *Franciæ, et Hiberniæ,* ***Reginæ, Defensoris fidei, &c.,*** *retinendus, et per totum* ***regnum Angliæ exequendus.*** *Qui Articuli, et lecti* ***sunt, et denuo confirmati, subscriptione*** *D. Archiepiscopi et Episcoporum superioris*

tions in 1562 and 1571. This fact weighs much in a moral point of view in respect to our subjective treatment of them. One treats them very differently from the decrees of a Provincial Synod of the Church of England. Convocation, though by some said to be legally the Church of England by representation, is only so in the sense of certain civil results. It is not a Council in the strictly ecclesiastical sense. Its decrees do not bind the conscience from any intrinsic authority in themselves, or in the documents put out by it. It only binds the conscience as a result of subscription. It is immoral and wicked in itself, to deny the decree of a Council accepted by the Church. It is not immoral or wicked in itself to deny an Article, e.g. that the Homilies have certain qualities. It only becomes immoral and wicked, when a man has signed what he does not believe, or when a man denies what he has subscribed to.

A result of this will be that a very different degree of reverence will attach to the body of the document, and specially to the inferences to be drawn from it. In dealing with the language of a Council, emanating from the Holy Ghost, we speak with bated breath in discussing it, and we respect inferences that may be certainly gathered from it, though not expressed; but in dealing with a document of the nature of the Articles, we are under no such moral obligation. The plain literal and grammatical sense, interpreted by the hardest legal head, is all that we have to do with in accepting the text; and as regards the inferences, we have nothing whatever to do with them.

Lastly, they are not of eternal obligation. The offspring of a controversial age, they bear on their surface the evidence of their paternity. That age has passed away, and the questions then unsolved have received the fullest consideration, and much that then looked like actual opposition has been found to be mere logomachy. New enemies to the faith have sprung up since those days, of which they take no cognizance, and, in resistance to these, all parties in the sixteenth century would have united as against a common foe. Two camps are arraying themselves in battle against each other. Communities and men are taking their sides. All conscious misbelief is gravitating towards unbelief; all imperfect but sincere conviction tending to the Catholic Faith. As then believers, in opposition to infidels and miscreants, come to make common cause, that common cause will lead to common faith, and under such common faith there will be no need for such declarations as the Thirty-nine Articles; they will have done their work, so, having done their work, they will take their place among the things of the past.

And to this consummation, to this common cause and common faith, we have to ask ourselves, what course of events will tend. How is the present state of confusion in the Church of Christ to be remedied? What can be done to heal the divisions in the Body of the Lord? There has been but one answer in all ages of confusion. At the beginning of the troubles in Henry the Eighth's time, just after Wolsey's death, when the matter of the division had thrown everything into



confusion, Sir Thomas More said that he desired three things, and one of these things was the Convocation of a Free General Council. It was the recognised means of healing the wounds of the Church desired by those enlightened men, who, while they recognised and deplored the existence of scandals and corruptions, clung earnestly to the old faith [a]. Nor was this confined to them alone [b]. The reformers, such as Melanchthon and Archbishop Herman of Cologne, maintained their reforms to be provisional until a General Council [c].

Luther himself at one time used it as a weapon of offence against the Pope [d]. In this very volume we have seen that Queen Elizabeth appealed to a free synod to arbitrate on the Anglican position. If Bishop Jewel in so many words does not go so far [e], it is at least the legitimate outcome of his Apology. He

[a] In 1536 Convocation, in protesting against the Pope holding a Council "without the express consent, assent, and agreement of the residue of Christian Princes," says, "We, taught by long experience, do perfectly know, that there never was, or is, anything devised, invented or instituted, by our forefathers, more expedient, or more necessary, for the establishment of our faith, for the extirpation of heresies, and the abolishing of sects and schisms; and, finally, for reducing Christ's people into one perfect unity and concord of religion, than the having of General Councils." (Burnet, Ref., vol. i. App. b. iii. No. 5.)

[b] e.g. Erasmus, *Epist.*, lib. xxviii. 8. [c] Hardwick's Manual of Ref., p. 9, ed. 1856. [d] Ibid., p. 62, note.

[e] "Nos quidem concilia et episcoporum doctorumque hominum conventus et colloquia non contemnimus. Neque ea quæ fecimus, prorsus sine episcopis aut sine concilio fecimus." (Jewel's *Apol.*, p. 34; Wordsworth's Christian Institutes; see also *Apol.*, part vi. (vol. iv. 71, ed. Jelf.) Serm. ii. vol. vii. 384; *Ep. de Conc. Trid.*, viii. 102.

gives many reasons for not attending at Trent, but all the reasons presuppose the supreme authority of a Council really Œcumenical. The theology of King James I., which was really able, and which, from the moral deficiencies of its author, has not received the respect it intellectually deserves, was in harmony with the same notion. Isaac Casaubon in his dedication to James I. (chap. v.) says, "Et tamen adhuc illis temporibus stabat suum jus, et in ecclesiâ summa auctoritas conciliis universalibus: quæ etsi cogi semper non poterant, semper tamen fas fuit piis hominibus spe saltem consolari sese ejus remedii, quod solum ad componendas controversias et hæreses auctoritate ecclesiæ debellandas cum Scripturæ docuerunt tum prisci patres agnoverunt atque usurparunt."

Hooker[f] says, "The urgent necessity of mutual communion for preservation of our unity . . . maketh it requisite that the Church of God here on earth, have her laws of spiritual commerce between Christian nations; laws, by virtue whereof all Churches may enjoy freely the use of those reverend, religious, and sacred consultations, which are termed Councils General. A thing, whereof God's own blessed Spirit was the author, a thing practised by the Apostles themselves, a thing always afterward kept and observed throughout the world, a thing never otherwise than most highly esteemed of, till pride, ambition, and tyranny, began by factious and vile endeavours

[f] E. P., lib. i. ch. x. 14, ed. Keble, p. 252.



to abuse that divine invention unto the furtherance of wicked purposes."

If the appeal to a Council, under certain possible circumstances, was in the minds of the divines of the time of King Henry and Queen Elizabeth, it assumed a still more prominent place in what may be termed the Constructive Epoch of Anglicanism. The great High Church school, in seeking to find a Catholic basis for their teaching, had of necessity to appeal to this.

Thus Archbishop Bramhall[g], in his replication to the Bishop of Chalcedon, after stating, "I submit myself and my poor endeavours to the judgment of the Catholic Œcumenical essential Church," continues, "Likewise I submit myself to the Representative Church, that is, a free General Council, or so general as may be procured; and until then, to the Church of England, wherein I was baptized, or to a national English Synod."

In his just vindication of the Church of England from the unjust aspersion of criminal schism, in his propositions for re-union, in speaking of the "necessary explications" to be made in view of that blessed object, he says they must "be made by the authority of a General Council, or one so general as can be convocated[h]." He moreover says, "To rebel against the Catholic Church, and its representative a General Council, which is the last visible judge of contro-

[g] Vol. ii. p. 22, Anglo-Cath. [h] Part i. d. 2, vol. i. p. 279.

versies, and the Supreme Ecclesiastical Court, either is gross schism, or there is no such thing as schismatical pravity in the world[i]."

So Archbishop Laud[j] says, "Therefore according to A. C.'s own argument, there will be some business also found (is not the settling of the divisions of Christendom one of them?) which can never be well settled but in a General Council; and particularly the making of Canons, which must bind all particular Christians and Churches, cannot be concluded and established but there."

So Bishop Overal[k], "And if in those troublesome times the peace of the Church were thus preserved, how much more now under Christian magistrates may it be strengthened, upheld, and maintained without the Pope, not only within their separate kingdoms, but likewise throughout (in effect) all these western parts of the world, if Christian Kings and Sovereign Princes would agree together for a General Council, to the end that all these heresies, errors, impostures, and presumptions, wherewith the Church of Christ has been long and is now miserably shaken and disturbed, might be at the last utterly suppressed and extinguished[l]."

A profound distrust of the motives of the Roman Catholic Church runs through the appeals to a Council on the part of the Elizabethan divines; it was felt

[i] Part i. d. 2, vol. i. p. 249. [j] Conf. with Fisher, Works, vol. ii. p. 234, Anglo-Cath. ed. [k] Conv. Book. [l] Wordsworth's Christian Institutes, vol. iv. p. 146.

that under such auspices it could not be free. Recourse, therefore, was had to a theory of interference on the part of Christian kings, such as had actually been brought to act in the case of the early Œcumenical Synods; and later at Constance and Basle.

That appeal can no longer be made. Christian Europe (as representing the thought, civilization, and religion of the world) is no longer at one on the most important of all points. The Latin Communion is now represented (to speak broadly) by France, Spain, Austria, Bavaria, Portugal, Belgium. Italy as a nation is in semi-schism. Russia has been admitted as a potent factor into the politics of the West. Greece is a non-Latin kingdom, and the Provinces already possessed of a passionate nationality, are aspiring to their place in the royal houses of Europe. Prussia, for the moment the most powerful state in Europe, and uniting the force of all the vast north of Europe, is Protestant; so are the three Scandinavian kingdoms and Switzerland. It is obvious that not one of these possesses the adequate authority to move in the direction of the Convocation of an Œcumenical Synod. From the political side, such a conference is impossible.

Again, all modern theories of government are tending to treat religion only as a matter of police. The preservation of morals now concerns the civil magistrate, only so far as offences against them tend to breaches of the peace. The whole class of wrongs, which were in fact sins, are ceasing to be recognised as crimes. Above all, religious belief is being freed.

A man may believe what he pleases in the eyes of the State, so long as his belief does not assault public order, does not injure property or person. It is no longer recognised as a duty of the Supreme Civil power "to maintain truth." There is a re-action against the tyranny of the Reformation theory, which made over the consciences of the subject to the Crown.

Consequently, even if Civil Governments were at one as to the basis on which re-union was to be promoted, they could never consistently combine to call together a Council. The results of such a Council, if not a matter of indifference to them, would only become a subject of jealous dread, by the increase of power which it would give to the Catholic Church. The Elizabethan idea of such a convocation by the Christian princes, if it ever was more than an excuse for maintaining a separate position, is, in view of the actual condition of the world, and of the modern theories of dominion, an utter impossibility.

What, then, remains to be done? There is but one power on earth which is able to attempt this great work. Let the successor of St. Peter, Bramhall's *Principium Unitatis*, the holder of that see, whose *potior principalitas* was acknowledged by St. Irenæus, only rise above the miserable triumph of an immediate Ultramontane success; let him accept the high destiny which God has placed in his hand, of being, not as in past times the cause of disunion, but the principle of re-union in Christendom. Let him send forth his invitation, not merely to all the Bishops of his own

subjection, assembled to register foregone conclusions, to give pomp and dignity to his own individual utterances; but let him invite first his own to testify to tradition and to judge freely in matters submitted to him. Then let him invite the ancient Eastern hierarchies, not as "prudent persons exercising ecclesiastical functions," but as the successors, as in fact they are, of the Ancient Thrones of New Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. Let him summon the Anglican prelates, not prejudging the doubts of their jurisdiction, but accepting them as they are historically, the occupants of the chairs of St. Austin and St. Paulinus. Let him call to himself all that is still sound in the Lutheran and Calvinistic bodies, whether they will hear or whether they will forbear,—and then in free Council assembled, under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, let every question be discussed, every difficulty sifted. Let the fullest explanations be given of what has given offence and promoted disunion; let the remaining superstitions left untouched by the Council of Trent be honestly dealt with; let the balancing and complementary truths that interpret the more startling assertions of the Church be enunciated; let the most candid and generous construction be placed upon the utterances of all the separated limbs of the Body of Christ; let a sound Catholic philosophy be sanctioned; let the deep underlying distinctions of race be allowed for; let the demarcation between faith and opinion be drawn with a firm and tender hand, so shall the great cause of re-union be promoted, the rent vesture

of Christ repaired, the walls of partition broken down, and the reign of Christ the Lord over the world be inaugurated. "When in the day of His power, the people will offer Him free-will offerings with a holy worship [m]." "And I will make thy windows of agates, and thy gates of carbuncles, and all thy borders of pleasant stones; and all thy children shall be taught of the Lord, and great shall be the peace of thy children [n]."

Οἱ τῶν ἀποστόλων πρωτόθρονοι,
καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης διδάσκαλοι,
τῷ Δεσπότῃ τῶν ὅλων πρεσβεύσατε,



L'ENVOY.

I HAVE now come to the end of my task, and I submit my work to the judgment of the Church with a deep sense of the responsibility of my action. It is with the greatest diffidence that I have ventured to touch upon points, concerning which good men during more than three hundred years have come to such different conclusions. I can only say that I have tried to approach them in a candid, truth-loving, and conciliatory spirit. I have endeavoured to cultivate the loving spirit of the author of the *Considerationes Modestæ*, who, by his profound learning, pacific temper, and sincere piety, has illustrated the name I bear. I am well aware that my work is likely to provoke much hostile criticism. The office of mediator is proverbially a thankless one. I shall be accused of insincerity by some, of timidity by others. I shall be blamed for casuistical fine-drawing. I shall be taunted with not pushing my premises to their legitimate conclusion. My consolation is that it has been my constant effort to state the truth in love, without regard to conse-

quences. On the one hand, I have never failed to exhibit the errors in speculation and practice which have from time to time prevailed, and to unfold the growth of those superstitions which have deformed the Christian religion; on the other hand, I have endeavoured to give due prominence to the statement and evolution of the true doctrine which underlies these errors, and the depravation of which has engendered those superstitions. Believing that there can be no sound Theological Science which has not its support in history, I have endeavoured to give its proper place to the argument from Antiquity, Universality, and Con-



slightly gone into; and yet more in the labour so generously and ungrudgingly bestowed upon Articles XXXII. and XXXVII., in both of which large and important additions are due to him. Those who with me can see, even at a distance, that Life of unwearied, unceasing toil, a Life whose whole existence is for others; his own long-cherished works put off from year to year, in humility and gentle trustfulness, as other duties come before him one by one, will with me gratefully receive the fruits of his toil.

CHRIST CHURCH,
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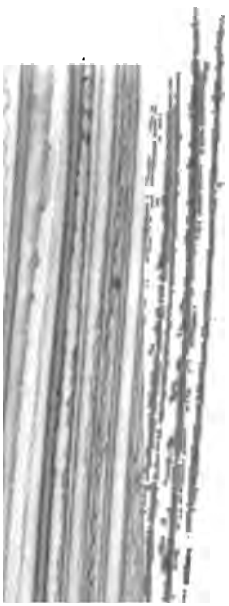
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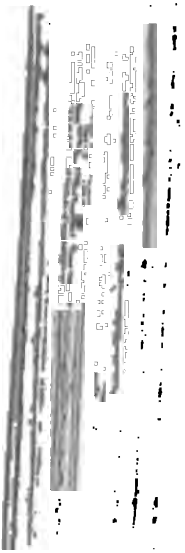
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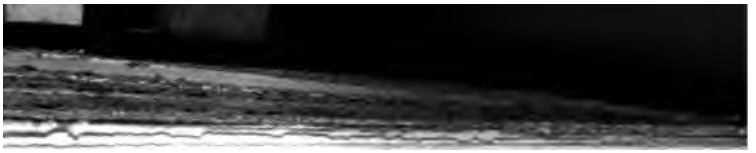
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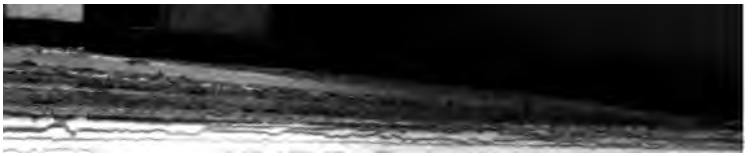
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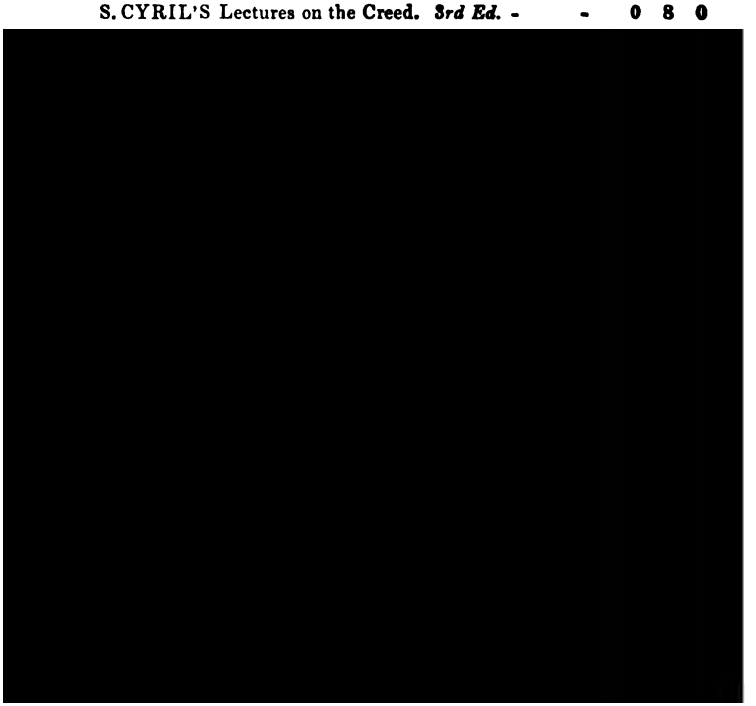
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